Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-241 *15 December 1994*

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NATO Supports Continued UN Presence in Bosnia

AU1512104694 Paris AFP in English 1024 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Dec 14 (AFP)—NATO defence ministers ended a two-day meeting here Thursday, which was dominated by planning for a withdrawal of UN peacekeepers from Bosnia with a final communique stressing Alliance support for keeping them there.

"We believe that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] should continue its crucial mission of providing humanitarian assistance and saving human life," the statement said.

NATO countries involved in Bosnia on Wednesday launched an inititiative designed to strengthen the UN Protection Force.

The meeting also focused on NATO's planned expansion in eastern Europe and the hostile reaction this has triggered from Russia.

The ministers "affirmed the importance of NATO relations with Russia, including practical co-operation both inside and outside the Partnership for Peace."

The ministers talks concluded Thursday with a meeting of NATO's nuclear planning group.

Claes Questions Use of Karadzic, Carter Talks

AU1512111194 Paris AFP in English 1058 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Dec 15 (AFP)—NATO Secretary General Willy Claes Thursday questioned the utility of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter holding talks with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic.

Claes said the proposals made by Karadzic Wednesday did not amount to a peace plan.

"In my view this is not a peace plan. It is just some points to obtain a ceasefire," Claes said. "I don't believe if there is a real willingness for a ceasefire that you need an intermediary, especially one of this level," he said following a meeting of NATO defense ministers here.

Black Sea Economic Cooperation Meeting Opens

AU1412153294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Dec 94

[Report by Armir Shkurti, including passages of interview with Rudolf Marku, chairman of the Albanian permanent delegation to the PABSEC, in Tirana at the Palace of Congresses on 11 December—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The bureau of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation [PABSEC] convened at about 1700 today. The bureau consists of the president of the assembly and two deputy chairmen, and defines the working program of the meeting. For President Oleksandr Moroz, this is the last meeting that he presides over. From January to June next year, a period of six months, Mr. Pjeter Arbnori, chairman of the Albanian Parliament, will be the president of the assembly.

At an official ceremony, Mr. Moroz handed over the mandate to Pjeter Arbnori.

[Marku] This is an opportunity for Albania to express its organizational capability and not simply that of hospitality, and at the same time it is prestige for Albania. I am saying this without nationalist rhetorics and I am really happy that such a high-level meeting is being held in Tirana, to the point that I can say this is the first time in the history of Albania that a meeting with such vast participation by other states is held in Tirana.

[Shkurti] Mr. Rudolf Marku, chairman of the Albanian permanent delegation to the assembly, states that the program defined the work of three commissions—the political and legal commission, the economy and environmental commission, and the commission for culture and social problems. Apart from Albania, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Armenia, Russia, Georgia, Romania, and Ukraine take part in the meeting as members. Greece is attending For the first time, with the observer status.

Among the topics that the commission of laws is expected to discuss are the abolishment of visas among Black Sea member countries.

[Marku] So far, the abolishment of visas has proceeded at certain levels, including the level of diplomatic passports. Now, it will also include businessmen and even commonplace citizens.

[Shkurti] The commission for culture is expected to discuss the issue of preserving cultural properties, which constitutes a problem, particularly for former communist countries.

[Marku] At the same time, on the economic level, the commission will discuss relations between the PABSEC and the BSEC [Black Sea Economic Cooperation], that is between the parliaments of the Black Sea member countries and the states of these countries, i.e. a decision approved by parliaments may be legalized and turned into a real institution by the relevant states.

At the same time, there will be ties between the PABSEC and GATT, the international organization that regulates the concrete economic structures of European countries. There will also be a lot of other topics of very great interest.

[Shkurti] Out of the member countries, Moldova, was absent from the meeting, while of the observers, Bulgaria, did not attend.

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Importance of Cooperation With Turkey Noted

AU1412154294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] This afternoon, People's Assembly Presidency Chairman Pjeter Arbnori received the Turkish delegation at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation [PABSEC]. Arbnori assessed the relations between the two countries and said Turkey and Albania are two elements of stability in the Balkans, which is why mutual cooperation is important.

The chairman of the Turkish delegation said that Turkey supports and has complete confidence in Albania, particularly now that it is presiding over PABSEC.

Metin Ornekkol, ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Albania, also attended the meeting.

Officials Discuss Future Relations, Cooperation

AU1412153394 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Dec 94

[Report by Armir Shkurti]

[FBIS Translated Text] Oleksandr Moroz is handing over the leadership of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation [PABSEC], while Pjeter Arbnori is being invested as the new president of this assembly. As chairmen of the Albanian and Ukrainian parliaments, Arbnori and Moroz briefed each other on the history of the changes that have taken place in the past couple of years.

Moroz allures one with the words: Ukraine is one of the greatest countries in Europe, and the center of the continent. It is enough to see the map and you will be convinced. It is the only state of the former Soviet Union that has an opening on the Black Sea.

Moroz said he has seen the film Skanderbey, and recalled the idea of the invincibility of those who unite, proceeding from the famous episode of the bunch of sticks that even the strongest warrior could not break.

Moroz offered cooperation in constructing roads, the mining and chemical industries, and transportation, where Ukraine feels itself to be stronger. However, first the Ukrainians ask for the establishment of diplomatic relations.

Parliament Chairman Arbnori proposed that cooperation begin with an exchange of parliamentary delegations, and then diplomatic missions.

Commentary on TV Failure To Report Resignation

AU1512114494 Tirana ALTERNATIVA SD in Albanian 25 Nov 94 p 1

[Commentary by Agim Xhalka: "Is London Nearer to Us Than Tirana?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Albanians learned from the BBC that Dhimiter Anagnosti, minister of culture, youth and sports, has submitted his resignation. Thanks to his professional perseverance, journalist A. Forxhi [BBC reporter in Tirana], succeeded in reporting to his listeners part of the letter the minister sent the prime minister. This letter contained frank accusations against Berisha and the prime minister. Anagnosti, a distinguished figure in the field of culture and a so-called people's artist, accused them of lacking courage.

After hearing this on the BBC, the Albanian listener and television viewer turns to the state RTSh [Albanian Broadcasting Corporation], the powerful institution whose offices are a stone's throw away from those of Anagnosti and Meksi. In her newscast, however, Miss Vokshi [television announcer] is far removed from the problem. One minister more or less means nothing to RTSh.

Now this institution, in addition to producing disinformation, has undertaken to create an information blackout. After hearing what the television announcers say and seeing what happens in reality, we cannot but recall our parents' words: It is just like 50 years ago, when the only station we listened to was London [BBC].

A minister resigns, the news of it flies over to London and comes back again, but nothing happens in Tirana. In Tirana those who voted no to the draft constitution are in the minority [as heard]. In Tirana one can read Swiss newspapers. In Tirana, when it suits the state, the minority is called a driving force. The only thing that happens or can happen in Tirana is what RTSh wants to happen. What it does not want to happen of course never does!

It is very hard to understand this disinformation, manipulation, and cheating. With things like this going on, you might think you were living in London. You feel that your own capital city and country are on a path to who-knows-where. And it is RTSh, which exists on our taxes, that is creating this strange feeling of estrangement and alienation among Albanian taxpayers! A minister resigns, but RTSH never mentions it. Is there any other country in the world where such things could happen?

Commentator Compares Albanian, U.S. Democracies

AU1512075194 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 26 Nov 94 p 5

[Commentary by Koco Broka: "The U.S. Experience of Constitutional Democracy and American Assessments of the Future of Democracy in Albania"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Supporting and encouraging democracy is one of the main aspects of U.S. foreign policy. This policy is neither liberal nor conservative, and belongs neither to the Democrats nor to the Republicans. It is not ephemeral, and has deep roots in American tradition. [passage omitted]

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There is no doubt that U.S democracy implies frequent changes and new developments. According to the Americans, modern political democracy is a system of governing in which those elected are responsible for their acts and must be subjected to the competitive process of voting. [passage omitted]

However, under the American system, democracy does not mean simply holding elections. Electoral procedures, important as they are, have even brought people like Hitler to power. Therefore, what is required to underpin democracy is not just support for one particular leader or party, even if they are elected, but support and encouragement for the democratic system and democratic institutions. However, this must not be simplified and restricted to the setting up of institutions. Iran is a Middle East country with a functioning legislature and opposition. If we take procedural matters as our starting point, then Iran as a manifestation of "electoralism" must be a model of democracy. Indispensable as they are, elections are never sufficient for a truly representative government. [passage omitted]

Thus, the requirement for establishing genuine and lasting democracy is very clear. It cannot be restricted to its first step, which is "electoralism," or "referendumism," as we are doing in Albania. Although essential, this is in fact only the first step. The 6 November referendum indicated that the Albanian people are determined to put an end to the dilemmas over pluralist democracy in Albania and do away with a corrupt administration; a subordinate legal system which, although constitutional, is incapable of making independent judgments; and a rubber-stamp legislature, which basically gives the green light or red light to the president's "proposals" without any democratic reasoning or judgment, when it comes to ending violations of human rights and the rights of the opposition, encroachments on freedom of the press and information, the suppression of peaceful rallies, and the mass political sackings of people from their jobs. The 6 November referendum, with its "no" vote, was just the first step in the passage from a restricted democracy, which has a dubious future, toward a stable, pluralist democracy. The genuinely democratic forces will be able to reflect on the explicit message of the 6 November referendum, and will prudently and resolutely place our country among the those that have a secure democratic and pluralistic future.

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Interior Ministry Troops Commander Removed

AU1412163694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] President Zhelev has issued a decree relieving Colonel Ivan Toshev Ivanov from the post of commander of Interior Ministry Troops.

Possibility of Election Day Disorder Discussed

AU1412181494 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] On 14 December President Zhelev met with Prime Minister Reneta Indzhova, ministers, and leaders of special services and discussed with them the problems of the struggle against corruption and crime. After the meeting Rumen Danov, adviser to the president on issues of national security, said to our reporter Silviya Velikova:

[Begin Danov recording] Issues related to developments in the last few days before the elections, and the need to protect public order, were discussed. Regardless of the threats and preliminary anticipations of certain political forces, the elections will take place in a democratic and peaceful manner. The situation does not prompt any expectations regarding extraordinary events or provocations.

I hope—and this also was the conclusion of the participants in the meeting—that the elections will take place in a peaceful, democratic, and honest manner. Naturally, the possibility that a corrupted state metastasis could cooperate in evoking acute provocations against the public order, by leaking information or other means, exists in the context of the current situation. The possibility was noted. Naturally, all possible measures aimed at preventing this from happening, would be taken. [end recording]

Former Army Chief of Staff To Run for Office

AU1412205794 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Supreme Court has ruled that General Lyuben Petrov, until recently chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, may run in the elections, as a candidate to the National Assembly on the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] ticket.

The Supreme Court reviewed the case after Gen. Petrov appealed the decision of the Central Electoral Commission to take his name off the list of BSP candidates to deputy at the 15th Pleven Constituency.

Ilinden OMO Posters Call For Election Boycott

AU1412214294 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 10-11 Dec 94 p 3

[Report by correspondent Nikola Stoyanov from Blagoevgrad]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, residents in Petrich and Sandanski woke up to find themselves assailed with calls from the illegal Ilinden OMO [Ilinden United Macedonian Organization]. Posters urged "Macedonians not to vote for the Bulgarian occupiers" and demanded that the United Nations intervene immediately, as in Haiti, to establish democratic order and unite the three parts of Macedonia: Pirin Macedonia [in Bulgaria], Vardar Macedonia [in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM], and Aegean Macedonia [in Greece]. The police said that it appeared from printing peculiarities and other features that the posters had for the first time been printed outside Bulgaria.

The appeals were issued by the extremist wing of the Ilinden OMO, led by Yordan Kostadinov. Engineer Yordan Singartiyski, leader of the organization's moderate wing—called the Democratic Movement—dissociated himself from the action.

BSP Official Stoilov on Future Government

95P20234A Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 1 Dec 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Yanaki Stoilov, member of the Executive Board of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, by Valeriya Veleva; date and place not given: "In a BSP Government, People With a Knowledge of Administration Should Predominate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *It is important for the executive branch to utilize the entire managerial potential of the country, but the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] should safeguard the opportunity to appraise and adjust the government's policy—this is what Yanaki Stoilov told TRUD. In his opinion, the activity of the future cabinet that will be formed as a result of the expected victory of the socialists will depend to a considerable extent upon the political effectiveness and organizational competence of the BSP's parliamentary group. To overcome obstacles, the government must have at its disposal a solid and relatively durable source of support based upon the socialist center. In this process, it is important that the president accept a cabinet created without ideological prejudices and that the parliament, the government, and the president cooperate without the strains that have characterized their relations up to now.*

[Veleva] Mr. Stoilov, with whom would the BSP form a coalition, if the party does not win an absolute majority in the parliamentary elections?

[Stoilov] Regardless of whether our coalition achieves an absolute majority or whether it becomes necessary to add other parliamentary votes to form a government, we shall seek a broad social and political base for the future administration with partners who have compatible ideas and programs. Besides that, I do not exclude the possibility of establishing a parliamentary majority and government that would bypass the bipolar spectrum. That, however, depends upon the parties in question's overcoming their sharp ideological stereotypes and surmounting their political pasts.

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For us, foremost as a criterion in selecting partners is the compatibility of the pre-electoral obligations and the determination to accomplish common policies. We can find common ground mainly with the Patriotic Union and the DAR [Democratic Alternative for the Republic]. Until the elections have crystalized the political configuration of the parliament and until we have determined the genuine intentions of the parliamentary forces, I would not rule out potential partners. However, the problem is: What will be the mainstay and the price of this partnership? I wonder whether in the midst of this pursuit, which is mainly beneficial for the party, the political forces will lose the quest for a united policy? Perhaps being included in the government will be used primarily to prepare a revitalized restructuring of the National Assembly.

[Veleva] Is a BSP cabinet already prepared? What would its formula be?

[Stoilov] Already, ahead of the elections, it has become necessary to draw together the basic lines for a program of administration and a corresponding legislative program for the next parliamentary mandate.

A concrete program for a future cabinet can be determined only after the elections, but it is a good time to provide an idea of its characteristics. In a future government in which the BSP participates, people who have the necessary knowledge of how to govern must predominate. These are people who accept responsibility and have management experience in economic, social, and intellectual spheres, as well as people with solid scientific and professional potential—a potential that can be fulfilled quickly through their inclusion in the government. In the makeup of a new cabinet, there is a place for certain key political figures whose participation will clearly commit the BSP to the executive. It is important for the executive branch of government to utilize the full administrative potential of the country, but the BSP reserves the possibility of appraising and correcting government policy. The activity of the cabinet also depends to a considerable extent on the political effectiveness and organizational ability of our parliamentary group.

[Veleva] In the West, the view is often expressed that a leftist government will slow reforms in Bulgaria. Is such an apprehension realistic?

[Stoilov] I would like to caution some of our foreign partners against the logical contradiction implied in answering this question. On the one hand, objective observers estimate that, in comparison with other East European countries, the consequences of the reforms have been the most difficult in Bulgaria. On the other hand, they are concerned about the continuation of these reforms under a new administration. If the West evaluates not only its current but also its long-term interests, and if it considers the fact that Bulgaria also has interests of its own and is striving toward relations as an equal partner, then the West must recognize the right of Bulgarian society and Bulgarian politicians to seek proper solutions to the existing problems. There is no question here of renouncing the establishment of market relations or the affirmation of democratic institutions, but rather a question of accomplishing essential changes through a method suitable for this transition in Bulgaria. The BSP's aspiration is to coordinate social goals with the economic measures adopted to reach them.

[Veleva] What problems will confront a new administration? Some people predict a life expectancy of only a year and a half

[Stoilov] The first problem is just establishing a competent, responsible, and stable administration. In this process, besides the political forces, even the president of the Republic could play an informal role. It is important that he accept a cabinet established without ideological prejudices; and that the parliament, the government, and the president cooperate without the strains that have characterized their relations up to now. For Bulgaria, it would be very difficult, even dangerous, if the parliament were not to contribute to overcoming the political crisis and if it were unable to ensure the management of the country. At this point, no one can tell whether the National Assembly will complete its full mandate or whether it will endure for less than four years. Early elections are not an extraordinary occurence, especially during periods of transition. We should not, however, approach going to the polls and forming a new administration on the premise that the parliament's term will probably be very short. Such a demobilized arrangement and, even more so, the propagation of such an impression among the general public are rather risky. This can reduce confidence in all political forces, intensify the crisis, and discredit parliamentary government.

The second problem is how to conduct the administration. Our political opponents, primarily the Union of Democratic Forces, succeeded in setting up blocking mechanisms to a future government to which it prepared itself to be the opposition. Look at how the judicial branch, the Constitutional Court, and many of the local organs, through falsely exercising their functions, create impediments for the parliament and the executive branch.

The next government will collide with other difficulties as well. Today Bulgaria's resources are far less than at the beginning of the transition period. Because of this, during the first year or two, the government may attain a degree of stabilization, progress from overcoming the decline toward economic revitalization, put into practice limited social measures for the most deprived social strata, and introduce orderliness in the public sphere. But stopping the impoverishment and entirely ameliorating the social, emotional, and intellectual climate might come perhaps during the second part of the parliamentary mandate. That is why it is very important that the government have at its disposal solid and relatively lasting support. Such support will enable the

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government to undertake those actions, some of which will produce the beneficial results that cannot be implemented during the first months of the government.

[Veleva] Will the BSP act with a firm hand if, during the first two critical years, conditions create social tensions?

[Stoilov] Right now the BSP is facing the challenge of power, and consequently, the manner in which it cor s with that task will affect the country's future and confidence in the Socialist Party for a long period of time. The BSP seeks a dialogue with the trade unions and other social organizations. It would be desirable to conclude a social pact that would specify the commitments of the government while prescribing the requirements of the trade unions. With respect to a firm hand, I will espress the essence of our policy in a single sentence: The BSP is called upon to administer categorically but democratically.

Spokesman Denies Deputy Foreign Minister Snubbed

AU1512094294 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At a briefing at the National Palace of Culture in Sofia on 14 December, Foreign Ministry spokesman Radko Vlaykov denied reports in the press according to which Belgrade refused to receive Deputy Foreign Minister Dimitur Ikonomov.

Vlaykov said the consultations Ikonomov held in Ljubljana and Zagreb contributed to developing Bulgaria's political dialogue with Slovenia and Croatia.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that Mr. Ikonomov will not visit Belgrade in the near future.

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Klaus on Money-Laundering Law, NATO Admission

AU1412171594 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 9 Dec 94 pp 1, 3

[Regular interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Eva Martinkova in Prague on 8 December: "The Law Must Not Become a Scourge of Respectable Businessmen"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Martinkova] The opposition has criticized the positive note of your address to parliament, speaking of a eulogy. Why did you not spend more time on criticism and the shortcomings?

[Klaus] I do not accept the reference to the eulogy note. This is nonsense. It would be good if the opposition read the address more closely. I spoke about the fundamental concerns of this country, and I have the feeling, actually the certainty, that my assessment corresponds to reality. The opposition is incapable of pushing through the thicket of thousands of details in this country and seeing what really matters.

[Martinkova] Will the December congress of the ODS [Civic Democratic Party] become an impulse for a new political style on the part of the party?

[Klaus] I believe that ODS Deputy Chairman Josef Zieleniec described the situation precisely in his 8 December interview for LIDOVE NOVINY. I must concur with that interview, and I believe that this is also the feeling of prominent members of the ODS. Probably no one will believe me that, when I read the interview, I already had written half of my address to the ODS congress. The congress certainly will not introduce any revolution, but, rather, it will confirm the development of the ODS to date. It will observe the shift in topics, which is a logical occurrence, and to which the ODS has contributed.

[Martinkova] The deputies have approved a tax reduction for small breweries. Could this be a precedent for other steps that distort the market?

[Klaus] I consider it a major, fundamental error. We have attempted many times to explain to the deputies how easy it is for someone who sits in the parliament lobby, runs through the corridors, and canvasses, to have several deputies raise their hands. I do not see any reason that this reduction should apply to only small breweries and not to small distilleries, bakeries, or printing shops. There is not the slightest reason for it. It is a freak occurrence, giving in to lobbying. It bothers me tremendously, and I will try to reverse the decision.

[Martinkova] The government has tabled the principles of the law on laundering money. You have been very skeptical about its implementation. Why?

[Klaus] I am not skeptical about its implementation . I am only trying to explain certain facts. I have the feeling that expectations in our society are unrealistically high. These expectations must be brought down to earth. Moreover, I fear that our citizens have come to believe that money laundering is a mass activity. I ask everyone to reduce his idea of the amounts of dirty money by several zeros. If some of our citizens believe that we are something of a rare bird in the world in not yet having a law on laundering money, I would like to remind them that even such a stable country as the FRG passed such a law only last year. I beg the warriors against dirty money to investigate how many people have been prosecuted in Germany under this law. We have to be particularly careful that this law does not become a scourge of respectable businessmen. That would be a terrible misfortune. I have said from the very beginning that it is not at all difficult to eliminate dirty money, but at the expense of also eliminating money that is not dirty. I always give the example of how easy it is to destroy all the weeds in a yard by pouring sulfuric acid all over it, but at the expense of destroying everything that grows in the yard.

[Martinkova] Do you feel that the conflicts within the coalition are on the upsurge? The situation in the town halls, the appearance of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party in parliament....

[Klaus] I do have this feeling and it is very sad. It is somewhat unreal and incomprehensible to me. I feel that some parties have read the election results wrong.

[Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech on 9 December on page 3 carries a similar interview by Viktor Krejci, who asks two other questions:

"[Krejci] Jacques Delors has criticized NATO and the United States for wanting to expand the alliance to include the states of Central and East Europe. Would you care to comment?

"[Klaus] First, we are interested in joining NATO. Second, I do not believe that this was a remark by Delors on the topic of East European countries but, rather, more generally on relations between Europe and America. In this sense, I must say, repeat, what I said in my address to the parliament—namely, that our objective is integration into the European and Euroatlantic structures. I believe that the role and the presence of the United States in Europe politically, militarily, economically, and culturally is very important, and we approve of it.

"[Krejci] Russia also took a firm stand against the expansion of NATO. If it happened, Russia, according to President Yeltsin, would have to take some steps to protect its own democracy.

"[Klaus] It seems completely logical to me that Russia, being Russia, cannot say anything else because it is certainly not in Russia's interest to be surrounded by states belonging to a different security grouping. What Russia says is understandable and logical, and I would be surprised if they did not do so. On the other hand, the North Atlantic Alliance decides itself on admitting new

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members, and I do not believe it will be influenced by this Russian position. So, this problem does not worry me, and I consider it a storm in a teacup."]

Zieleniec Discusses ODS Politics, Future

AU1412133794 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 8 Dec 94 p 9

[Interview with Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by Bohumil Pecinka; place and date not given: "A Change in Political Style Awaits the ODS, Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec Says"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Pecinka] At the last ODS [Civic Democratic Party] congress, you said that, as the period of transformation ends, the ODS will have to change from a sprinter to a long-distance runner. How would you assess your party a year later?

[Zieleniec] The period of grand themes in politics, like the economic reform, formation of a political system, and partition of the state, that formed our country and my party is over. We are gradually reaching the top of the hill, see before us the prospects of normal life, and must clearly state which path we are going to take. There will be more attention paid to credibility than to vigor. In Western democracies, it is rather the left-wing parties that use strong and big words. As a matter of fact, a certain dearth of content in their radical statements is for them a typical political weapon. The right-wing parties, on the contrary, are convincing more by the security they offer their voters, their predictability, and the realistic objectives in their programs. Thus, a change in political style and a greater credibility of the program awaits the ODS. The idea of the program as a contract, for instance, submitted by the party to its voters has not yet been completely accepted. Another aspect of the credibility is the personal persuasiveness of the politicians representing the ODS. Precisely these questions should be discussed at the ODS congress. These are topics for 1995.

[Pecinka] It seems that a large part of the dissatisfaction with the work of the ODS concentrates on the demand that a political program be drafted. You are one of the initiators of this activity. What do you expect from drafting such a document?

[Zieleniec] In addition to the regular election documents oriented toward the voters, the ODS must have something that will arrange its political views into a logical system that every member understands. Under normal circumstances, it is the best way for an individual to identify with the party. The ODS formed in a different manner, more on the basis of support for the economic reform and in dealing with the state-legal issues. Now, however, the form of identification must be based on a system of thought that is expressed in the program that encompasses broader areas of the life of society. We emphasize in the election program how important it is for us to reduce taxes by a certain percentage, improve the environment conditions in northern Bohemia, and approach the integration into the European structures. That, however, is not a political program. Such a program must present the issues in a more general form—for example, what kind of relationship the party expects between the citizen and the state, what our legal system should be like within the context of European integration, and so forth. At the same time, it is not just the political document prepared by a team of experts that is important; above all, we need to discuss these matters.

[Pecinka] The ODS encompasses a rather broad spectrum of opinions. Do you not fear that a discussion of such a program could lead to a conflict between the liberals and the conservatives that would not be easy to settle?

[Zieleniec] That is why we have to do it. The ODS encompasses a broad spectrum of opinions because it is a party that solicits support from at least one-third of the voters. If we want to apply our opinions in politics, we must be a party that can have its way in both the parliament and the government. Similar parties in Germany or in Great Britain also encompass a broader spectrum. Moreover, there is no one-third of voters in the Czech Republic that would have a definite opinion on a single issue. It is smaller parties, like the Christian Democratic Party and the Democratic Union, that form on the basis of definite opinions. Therefore, it is our task to find the lowest common denominator in the discussion on the program, that which ties us together.

[Pecinka] People say you tend toward the liberal side.

[Zieleniec] That is what you say now; others claim I am a conservative. I believe that I am at the center of the ODS spectrum. I am definitely a liberal economist who believes in the values of the free market. I believe that, if people are given the space, they will fill it with worthwhile activity. I am convinced that the state should not organize the activity of an individual. On the other hand, I am a person who is aware of the key status of the family and the recognition of tradition and roots. The polarity between the liberals and the conservatives is not such that it would create irreconcilable tension like in the instance of the left and the right wings. It is precisely the Western parties to the right of the center that combine these two elements.

[Pecinka] Is it possible that the work on the new program is a rather welcome excuse for conducting changes within the ODS?

[Zieleniec] Although it is a discussion about the program, what I said implies that it is also a discussion about the party per se. If a political program is the reason for people to associate in a political party, it means something for the work of the party and its internal life. In the introduction, I spoke about the credibility of the party. The credibility of the program is closely tied to the credibility of the politicians who represent the party. The connection between words and deeds, personal integrity,

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and personal persuasiveness resulting from these features belongs to the image of a right-wing conservative politician. I said that the art of administration of a country is an important part of the programmatic equipment of the right wing because it emphasizes the importance of the practical approach. This also necessarily results in certain criteria for gauging the success of politicians who represent the party. You can see that the connections between the party program, its image, and the quality of the politicians are close. It is obvious that a discussion about the program must lead to a discussion about the character of the party in general, its public image, and its political style.

[Pecinka] The ODS is being reproached for two shortcomings: at the level of high politics, that its representatives transferred too soon to the stage of simple maintenance of power and do not have the strength to push the society forward and, on the party level, the fact that the membership stagnated from the fall of 1992 to this year's local elections, so the ODS does not bear any political responsibility in communities with a population of fewer than 5,000.

[Zieleniec] As far as the initiative goes—the ability to present ideas and the endeavors to make these ideas a reality—I must say that we have experienced five very dynamic years. These were events that might suffice in another country for perhaps 50 years of history. Just realize that the fall of communism was an event of such magnitude that Europe has not experienced anything like that for a very long time. We are passing through this process successfully. Moreover, we had to found a new state, i.e., again a process that elsewhere is either a result of a war or starts one. It is clear that after such momentous events, we, and reporters especially, feel that ordinary life is boring and lacking in intrinsic dynamics. It is a letdown like walking through a well-heated room after you get out of a hot tub; you feel cold. It is also connected with the opposition I mentioned in the introduction and called vigor versus credibility. On the other hand, it is a time when some government political goals are being set—the route toward the housing market, for instance, or the idea of a social and health-care systems—that also form the society for decades to come. Nevertheless, it will never be the type of dynamics that, as I feel in your question, you miss. That is good. In an ordinary democracy, one deals with ordinary issues. An ideal state is one that is not imposing on a citizen every day. We need a state that does not make the citizen feel anxious all the time. Paradoxically, I appreciate the fact that people are less concerned with politics and that the front pages of newspapers no longer carry picture of politicians. That is a healthy development.

[Pecinka] Is it justified to reproach reporters for nostalgia for the time of grand themes when they point out, for instance, the accumulated problems in the coalition, which have already been termed evergreen? It seems to be rather indicative of something.

[Zieleniec] Yes, it is. It is indicative of the fact that some problems cannot be solved in the given circumstances. When you refer to evergreens, remember also how many problems have been solved. The work of the coalition is successful.

[Pecinka] Recently, a smaller coalition, the coalition of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party and the Civic Democratic Alliance, formed within the government coalition. Furthermore, since the local elections, these parties have frequently opposed the ODS. It may be the model of the coming political development also at the government level. This unwritten coalition puts great hopes also in the so-called Zieleniec's faction in the ODS. Have you received any specific offer?

[Zieleniec] Fortunately, I have not received any such offer because I would have to be, against my custom, rather crude in my answer. Despite all of the rumors about the ODS, it is a democratic party in which discussion is commonplace, and there are frequent and often opposing votes. Nevertheless, to deduce from it the existence of some factions is a wish that is not likely to come true. I cannot imagine the ODS divided into a dozen opposing factions, with interrelations affected by other parties. I can understand, however, that other parties dream of such a development. It is possible that this wish is a result of the concerns that, after the successful local elections, at its congress, the ODS will take another step to strengthen its position. If this is the reason for the speculations on the split of the ODS, I am not surprised.

[Pecinka] So, why did these politicians choose you?

[Zieleniec] Perhaps because I am a person who has an independent opinion and also tries to voice it. I believe firmly that it is a stand that, in the final analysis, benefits the ODS. To speculate, however, that my occasional controversies with the prime minister could grow into something bigger is a political error of the people who believe it.

[Pecinka] Let us return to the question of stagnating membership.

[Zieleniec] You are right that the membership of the parties in the Western countries that have a position similar to that of the ODS is about four times greater in proportion to the population. This testifies, above all, to the unnatural form of our formation. The ODS must change the internal style of its work. A party meeting must not be the only form of life. The party must be able to organize various public actions and festivals, make its mark in charity work, work with youth, and so forth. The expansion of our activities will also bring an expansion of membership.

[Pecinka] Minister, some time ago reporters christened you Father Josef, which is in politics a synonym for someone skilled in pulling strings. How happy are you about this nickname?

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[Zieleniec] I have the same relation to reporters that I do to nature. It is simply here, and I may not like the rain, but there is nothing I can do about it. For me, the reporters are a part of the milieu in which I work politically. I would not even want to try to analyze the motivation of those who nicknamed me so. I am a person who believes in being open and deals with problems more by open confrontation than by maneuvering about, and I have no idea how that fits with this nickname. Those who use this nickname may be trying to comment on my part in the politics of the ODS, which they believe is bigger than it seems.

[Pecinka] Your nickname may have something to do with you being in politics for more than two and a half years, yet remaining a political unknown quantity to many people. What are your personal political goals?

[Zieleniec] I entered politics—and that is also the experience of many of my fellows—by a nonstandard route. The time was a nonstandard one. I could never have imagined that I would become a politician just like I could not have imagined that I would travel freely to Bavaria. For me, personally, the word "party" was a synonym for something one could not even touch. The fact that I became the deputy chairman of the ruling party is alone such a turnabout in life that I cannot imagine a greater change in life. I consider it foolish to set personal goals in today's politics.

[Pecinka] Do you have political idols? Do the deeds of some politician touch the right chord in your heart?

[Zieleniec] For me, it is immensely important to go back to the personality of Winston Churchill, not only because of his political views, which are very close to mine, but also because I am attracted by the personal integrity of this person, his ability to hold his course even in very complex times, including two wars. He was a man who managed to keep his own and often paid for it dearly, but he made a great contribution to society.

[Pecinka] A topic of numerous discussions here is politics and ethics. It is often set in oppositions—the so-called moral politics against immoral pragmatism. Some time ago, you stated that any true pragmatic politics are also moral. What did you mean by that?

[Zieleniec] Already in the introduction, I spoke about the value of the ability to get things done—that is, the practical aspect of things. This value makes it possible to keep words in relation to deeds. One of the important impulses for contemplating moral aspects of politics is always the variance between the word and the deed, and, for this reason, I am frequently irritated by the discussions about ethics that emphasize words and disregard deeds. Everybody can talk about decency, but to live decently is an art. Hence, discussions about ethics in politics without a precise definition of the problem under discussion are highly unethical because they create a division between the uttered word and the realized deed. On the other hand, everything that pushes these things together is an important contribution to the discussion on the moral dimension of politics.

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Meciar Interviewed After Taking Office 13 Dec

LD1412163594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 14 Dec 94

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondents Michal Tvarozek and Magda Pospisilova, following the swearing-in ceremony of the new Slovak Government in Bratislava on 13 December—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Pospisilova] What will the provisional budget look like, and how long will it last?

[Meciar] The shorter the time, the better. A provisional budget is always based on two principles. One is macroeconomic values; in the given case, we would take the values of January 1994. The second principle is the implementation of measures based on these values, where we will have to set new norms that should be accepted so that income continuity may be secured from the time the provisional budget comes into force. It envisages growth of expenditures but not of incomes, which could realistically be expected.

[Tvarozek] Could you characterize the program of the government you will deliver in parliament? When will you deliver it?

[Meciar] The government is obliged to address parliament within 30 days. Its basis is the election program of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, enriched by the program of the Slovak National Party and the Association of Workers of Slovakia. We are not copying a single program completely. We are incorporating what they have in common so that a document may be created by which we can support the three parties.

[Pospisilova] What life expectancy do you give this government? Will it be a government for four years?

[Meciar] Several factors are involved in this. I have no worries about the performance of this government. That is granted. It will be decided by the ability of those who are in opposition to accept the results of the elections and accept the fact that they went into opposition voluntarily. We did not send them there. They wanted to go into opposition because they thought things would not turn out right. Furthermore, it will be decided by the willingness to reach a political agreement between social partners—employers and trade unions—as well as the willingness of the citizens to respect the situation that exists in our country. We cannot have the paradox where the minority does not recognize the right of the majority to decide, which is the basic prerequisite of any democratic decision. This would create absolutely anarchic elements, and that is impossible.

These are the points that could generally influence the government's fate. It would be good if they let us work for four years and then take stock. I know that if we have this time we will hand over a country that is the most prosperous of all of the postcommunist countries.

[Tvarozek] When in June 1990 you were elected prime minister for the first time, you said that the Slovak people cannot wait another 20 years for improvements. The government you have just formed and that you are heading is a government of experts. Do you assume then that we will not have to wait for 20 years?

[Meciar] The government is formed on the principles of the parties that constitute it. I, as the prime minister, had the opportunity to comment, but the individual parties selected some departments, and the parties delegated their people. In other words, they have taken over responsibility for the activity of the ministers. That is where activities are divided between them and the leadership of every party that filled the department. This is good, but it also has some negative elements.

As for the government members, the majority are not in government for the first time. They are young, dynamic people who can accomplish things. One is always tested by time, however. A person may behave in an outstanding way in one situation, but in a different way in another. So let us give them time.

[Pospisilova] You announced the establishment of a shadow cabinet. Will this be competition for the new ministers? What will be its role?

[Meciar] No. I used a sports term for illustration. A team is good if it has good players on the playing field and also good replacements on the bench. Naturally, forming a shadow cabinet when we are in the government has somewhat different parameters. The shadow cabinet has political influence for the support of the government, undertakes public verification of its program, and prepares people for state administration and for other institutions. Our second cabinet will commence such activities next month.

[Tvarozek] You did not want to announce the name of your replacement. However, the coach usually does announce it.

[Meciar] No, the coach [words indistinct]

[Pospisilova] There are several unknown names in the new government. The appointment of sociologist Professor Juraj Schenk is a surprise to foreign policy experts. Why this selection?

[Meciar] Prof. Schenk, by virtue of his personality and education, belongs among the foremost experts in our country. He published several works, wrote several books. He is a person for whom diplomacy is inherent. The state secretary will be a professional diplomat. The selection was naturally influenced also by the relationship between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and my government in the past period. (passage omitted]

[Tvarozek] In connection with the establishment of the new government, you were described as an unfortunate father of an unwanted child.

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[Meciar] Happiness and unhappiness are relative notions because what today seems to be defeat may tomorrow be an appeal and vice versa. [sentence as heard] Time decides everything. Very few people expected the government in this composition; just as very few people expected this election result. I think—and why hide it?—that there are several politicians who did not expect that I would appear on the political scene again, and they told themselves after the elections: We will wait for you for the third time. There are such moods. They do not dominate, but one need not talk about them as if they did not exist.

[Pospisilova] Every government has some sort of an attribute. Which would you give to this one?

[Meciar] Let us try it without attributes. Let it work.

[Pospisilova] Prime Minister, the last question: You had a rather long discussion last night with President Michal Kovac. Can you tell us what it was about?

[Meciar] It concerned some foreign political activities the president was preparing. He asked about the composition of other posts in the government. It will be necessary to arrange his trip to Rome. He is going there as the head of state. He asked about some activities abroad, so I also told him several things that were intimately known to us because they had been going on for half a year. He inquired about the intensive talks between us and various influential government posts abroad.

[Tvarozek] So the extended hand was not merely a gesture or a symbol of the moment. It should also be a gesture for the future.

[Meciar] I hope it will be accepted this way.

Meciar Offers Reconciliation to Opponents

LD1412212294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 14 Dec 94

["Excerpts" of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's speech at the opening of the National Council in Bratislava on 14 December—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The opening of the National Council of the Slovak Republic today saw the exchange of the Cabinet and the subsequent changes in the parliamentary seats. [passage omitted]

Parliamentary correspondents Jarmila Tosecka and Ludmila Bulakova report on the session:.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Good evening. A few minutes before 1500, Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council, welcomed the new Cabinet led by Vladimir Meciar. Here are some excerpts from Meciar's speech, in which he introduced, among other things, the individual ministers to the parliamentary deputies.

[Meciar] The social processes that took place in Slovakia in 1994 resulted in the early elections. Despite some shortcomings, the early elections can be viewed as democratic and as the will of the public to express the citizens' trust in the division of powers in parliament and their wish to organize the social situation in line with their vision of the 1994-98 period.

The citizens' wish gives an essential aim to Slovak politics to go for an agreement and reach a consensus. Therefore, the government offers cooperation to everyone who has decided not to be in the government. The government proposes and wants this cooperation, and we believe that it will be accepted.

The Slovak Republic will need a lot of energy to improve its economic growth and prosperity, to manage the social processes that lie ahead. It will need a great deal of energy to raise the level of renewal of society. The basis for these changes are on your side.

The situation in the parliament and parliament's willingness and ability to cooperate with and support the government determines the stability of the political situation in Slovakia. Therefore, I say to all those who want to make a contribution to this process: Do cooperate! In the same way as yesterday, when I offered reconciliation to the president, I now offer reconciliation to all those who, in March 1994, contributed to the internal political crisis, regardless of their political party membership or their share in the crisis. We need an accord. We need mutual understanding. We need to put the interest of the citizens and the state before the narrow interests of the political parties.

[Unidentified correspondent] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, in his speech, also stressed that the new government will not change the direction of Slovak foreign policy. Our relations with other countries should be determined by our effort to improve mutual trust, by gaining understanding and also economic support. In this respect, Meciar's government intends to do its best. Vladimir Meciar also noted that Slovakia was a part of the newly structured Europe, in which each country should have found its place. He also added:

[Meciar] We are sorting out the situation at home. We are organizing things so that everyone, all political parties, all religions, all ethnic groups, find a home here. I call for the cooperation in the interest of the country, in the interest of the Slovak Republic, fatherland of us all. Thank you.

[Unidentified correspondent] On behalf of the deputies, Chairman Ivan Gasparovic wished success to the government, adding that the parliament accepts the offer for cooperation. [end recording]

Moravcik: SR To Apply To Join EU Next Year

AU1412152994 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Dec 94 pp 1, 6

[Article by special correspondent Alexander Polakovic: "Slovakia Will Submit its Application To Join the European Union Next Year"]

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[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Essen—A delegation from the Slovak Republic [SR], headed by Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik, arrived on 10 December in Essen, where it participated in the second, closing day of a meeting of EU heads of government. [passage omitted]

Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik said after the meeting that he does not regard as discriminatory the emphasis being placed on individual approaches to the countries of Central and East Europe because such an approach has been spoken about from the beginning. He observed, however, that the deletion of any reference to the Visegrad Four as a group was new. After all, as he stated in his speech at the EU summit, we consider the development of regional cooperation among the EU associate countries to be one of the main means of achieving EU membership. He pointed out that we are a member of the Central European Free Trade Association and that Slovakia has concluded free trade agreements with Slovenia and Romania. In the near future, we intend to sign a similar agreement with Bulgaria.

Moravcik appreciated that the ratification process of the EU association agreement with the Slovak Republic has been completed in EU member countries, which allows the association agreement to officially go into effect in February 1995. At the same time, he announced that, in the course of next year—that is, even before the start of the intergovernmental conference on EU reforms in 1996—we want to submit our official application to join the European Union. We consider the strategy to be another specific manifestation of efforts toward the gradual integration of the EU associate countries into the European Union, he said. Naturally, we want to cooperate actively in the preparation of the white book (document on rapprochement of legal systems), so as to be able to join the EU internal market system as soon as possible. At the same time, he stressed that, even now, the Slovak Republic wants to define and seek solutions to problematic areas sensitive to both sides—agricultural policy and structural funds in support of individual sectors of the member countries' economies. [passage omitted]

Meciar: Referendum Before Joining NATO

LD1412163994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has introduced new Defense Minister Jan Sitek into his post. Sitek was nominated by the Slovak National Party.

The prime minister emphasized that the arrival of the new government had not changed Slovakia's basic orientation on West European security structures, while the actual act of joining NATO would be preceded by a referendum.

Kovac, Slovenia's Kucan Discuss Cooperation

LD1412165194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Republic, has arrived in Bratislava for an official visit. After the welcoming ceremony, he met Slovak President Michal Kovac, who said afterward that the talks had focused on the development of cooperation in various areas.

They also focused on the possibilities of expanding cooperation between the states of the Central European region and agreed that their joint objective was integration into the European political and economic structures and into NATO. The Slovene guest pointed out that this meeting with Kovac, which is already the fourth one this year, confirmed the high standard of mutual relations and the identical interests and goals of the two Republics. Kucan praised the fact that the two countries had concluded a free trade zone agreement.

Kukan Predicts Problems With Hungary To Continue

AU1412175794 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 9 Dec 94 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan by Alexander Polakovic and Peter Fridner in Bratislava; date not given: "He Will Not Part With Foreign Policy and Is Glad Not To Have To Undergo Retraining"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—We talked to the chief of Slovak diplomacy Eduard Kukan between two summits that directly affect Slovakia—the Budapest summit of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the European Union summit, which starts in Essen today and to which also EU associate member states from Central and East Europe have been invited. We did not dodge the topic of the forthcoming change of guard in the post of Slovak foreign minister, either.

"We know that Russia is a big country that has its ambitions and interests," Eduard Kukan said in reaction to Russian President Boris Yeltsin's speech in Budapest, in which he voiced objections to the Central European countries' speedy admission into NATO. "But it would definitely be a mistake if, on the basis of this speech, the Western states changed their attitude toward our moving toward NATO. In this context, I would just remark that the statement by EU Commission Chairman Jacques Delors came as a most unpleasant surprise, and I am ready to say so to our Western partners bluntly and in an undiplomatic way. Should one single bang on the table, even by a state such as Russia, become a reason to cast doubt on what has been built up here for years, it would be a very bad signal." (Speaking in Brussels on 7 December, Delors opposed U.S. proposals for NATO's expansion in the foreseeable future on the grounds that

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this would "complicate relations between the United States, the European Union, and Russia"—editor's note.)

In this context, he appreciated the invitation for the Slovak Republic to come to Essen. Although the invitation might seem to be a formality, it demonstrates that "structured dialogue is being adhered to and there are no outages." It will be up to us, Kukan stressed, whether this dialogue will continue. It is precisely in this area that the outgoing minister of foreign affairs sees the main task for Slovak diplomacy in the near future.

Regarding the recent EU demarche addressed to Slovakia, Minister Kukan said that the reply by Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, was acknowledged in Brussels without any evaluation. Kukan voiced the personal view that the inclusion of the Hungarian minority issue in the demarche had devalued the document because "subsequently, everyone concentrated on the Hungarian issue." The minister dismissed as self-serving disinformation reports that the Americans, too, are preparing similar demarches.

The following questions also centered on the problems of Slovak-Hungarian relations, especially from the point of view of possible confrontational development in the wake of the change of government in Slovakia. "We will have to get used to the fact that there will always be problems with the Hungarians," the minister believes. "Certain problems will occur here, irrespective of the change of government. When Horn and his government took office, many politicians in Slovakia unrealistically thought that an idyll would set in. This did not happen. The Hungarians kept reminding us urgently to submit our draft of the bilateral treaty, which we did two days earlier than originally agreed, but then we waited for their reply for four months. In the meantime, they were not idle, however, and tried to present us in the eyes of the European Union that it is they who are interested in improved mutual relations and almost managed to pass the Old Maid onto Slovakia. [sentence as received] We then said: Wait a minute, gentlemen, relations are not all that ideal. We have been waiting for months for their draft of the agreement, but the Hungarians are not giving it to us. In the end, we managed to convince the EU partners that, as long as the Hungarians do not change the basic philosophy of their approach, it will be difficult to move from the spot."

In this context, Kukan reacted to reports that the Slovak-Hungarian agreement could be concluded before the start of the final conference on the Stability Pact, which is to be held in Paris in March 1995. "I would like to be wrong, but I do not believe the Slovak-Hungarian treaty will be ready by then."

As for fears of a possible escalation of the Hungarian issue in the event of deepening economic and domestic political problems after the new government takes office, he observed that the new government will also quickly receive signals from the West not to exaggerate in this regard.

As had our editors, Eduard Kukan had heard the report about Defense Minister Pavol Kanis's statement that ideas about Slovakia becoming neutral have surfaced within the parties of the parliamentary coalition. This is also confirmed by well-known statements made by Jan Luptak, chairman of the Association of Workers of Slovakia, on his trips between Paris and Brussels. According to Kukan, such views have been appearing in some circles for some time. He described them as very naive and dangerous. "If such views really manifest themselves even now, those who uphold them should realize that this would turn Slovakia not into an island of neutrality but, rather, into an island of isolation. We have said in which direction we would be heading, so let us continue in that direction!" According to Kukan's information, no one except the TASR correspondent in Brussels had taken any notice of Luptak's statement. [passage omitted]

New DS Chairman Rejects Merger With DU

AU1512072894 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Dec 94 p 2

[Article by "rm": "There Will Be No Integration"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kosice—The long-awaited verbal duel between [Democratic Party Chairman] Ivan Miklos and Pavol Hagyari did not take place because, for health reasons caused by a heart attack, former Democratic Party [DS] Deputy Chairman Pavol Hagyari did not attend the party's national congress in Kosice. Martin Kvetko, the party's honorary chairman, also did not participate in the congress for health reasons.

The congress debate was mostly about whether the DS, with its 2,000 members, should remain an independent entity or accept the offer of the Democratic Union [DU] and the National Democratic Party-New Alternative for gradual integration into a single party under the DU moniker. "Any integration is out of the question, and there will not even be a discussion about it. Our closest partner is the Permanent Conference of the Civic Institute. I do not expect Pavol Hagyari's followers to leave our party, even though I think Mr. Hagyari would fit in the DU better than in the DS," the newly elected DS Chairman Peter Osusky, MD, candidate of sciences, stated before reporters in Kosice. His only countercandidate was Pavol Hagyari. Miroslav Ondrus, Ivan Miklos, Ivan Brndiar, Koloman Pronay, and Miroslav Dziak-Kosicky were elected DS deputy chairmen.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 12 December on page 4 carries a 600-word interview with newly elected DS Chairman Peter Osusky by Eva Bombova entitled "The DS Will Not Embark on Richer Party's Steamboat." In the interview, held in Kosice after the DS congress, Osusky reiterates his rejection of a merger with the DU, saying that "there is no reason for us to give up our ideals and seek rescue on the steamboat of a richer party that does not navigate in the same direction we do. The team that is to be formed after the congress should, while maintaining continuity, complete and improve the DS's program so as to preserve its basic civic, right-wing, conservative, and, above all, decent and honest policy."]

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Kuncze Views Corruption in Privatization Cases

AU1412213994 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Dec 94 pp 1, 11

[Interview with Interior Minister Gabor Kuncze by Attila Gy. Fekete; place and date not given: "Gabor Kuncze: People Should Learn What Has Happened Under the Heading of Privatization"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Fekete] Almost six months ago you became head of the Interior Ministry; can you please summarize your experiences?

[Kuncze] On the basis of the first few months spent at the Interior Ministry, I can say that there are competent people working here who are able to perform every aspect of the ministry's tasks. My first impressions confirmed my previous view that the change of government does not necessarily have to involve overall structural and personnel changes. However, this does not mean that we do not have serious problems—some of which require immediate action—with the services that come under the control of this ministry.

[Fekete] What do you mean?

[Kuncze] A significant proportion of the difficulties with these services can be attributed to the well-known difficult budget situation. Naturally, salary conditions fundamentally determine the mood of the employees and, unfortunately, we cannot increase these as much as would be desirable. Many areas have not had enough money for important investment and developments for years, which raises the question of how long the employees of the given areas will be able to perform their duties and at what level. In addition to this, the previous parliament did not have enough time to pass important laws such as the one on fire and catastrophe situations and on guarding the borders. In other areas, the quality of the regulations causes unpleasant situations: For example, the clauses of the law on policing foreigners turned out to be too strict. If it is in Hungary's interest to have many foreign investors coming into the country, then the question arises whether it is indeed essential for the foreign employees of joint ventures to come before the police each year and go through a long procedure to get permission to continue the enterprises? [passage omitted]

[Fekete] What kind of personal relationship do you have with Prime Minister Gyula Horn?

[Kuncze] Adequate.

[Fekete] And privately?

[Kuncze] If you are asking whether we meet outside the office, no, we do not. However, neither of us has time for a private life and this is one of the reasons for this.

[Fekete] Do you also coordinate issues with the prime minister outside the government sessions?

[Kuncze] Naturally. There are no rules laid down on this. Sometimes I initiate a meeting, and sometimes Horn does, and then we agree after arguments that can become heated. [passage omitted]

[Fekete] You lead the committee that is trying to uncover corruption cases and abuses in privatization. How far have the investigations progressed?

[Kuncze] Contrary to reports in certain newspapers, the committee still exists. The various subcommittees have found more than 100 cases that warrant further investigation. If well founded suspicions of crime arise, then the files will be handed over to the police. On the other hand, naturally, some cases already have a criminal record with the police, and the information on these can be used by the investigating committees in their specific area of work.

[Fekete] How were these 100 cases discovered?

[Kuncze] Some cases had been publicized earlier, but the necessary investigations were not started at that time. Other cases were mentioned by deputies or they came to the attention of a committee from citizens' reports sent in letters with the names and addresses of the senders.

[Fekete] What are the experiences so far?

[Kuncze] Generally, it can be said that the State Property Agency and the State Property Management Corporation have regularly violated their own rules. For inexplicable reasons, on some occasions when assessing the applications, they significantly deviated from the written rules and even from the previous practice that they had used in the majority of cases. The documents were simply lost in very many cases. We have also found some cases where the given assets were not sold to a prospective cash buyer, but rather were sold later for less and in exchange for compensation notes. I cannot say anything concrete but when investigations are closed in a case, they will be made public. It is also possible that the summarized conclusions of the investigations will be published in a book after all the cases are closed. We might not find any concrete cases of corruption because it is very difficult to prove this type of crime. Nevertheless, I believe that it is worth informing the public about what has taken place here under the heading of privatization over the past four years.

[Fekete] Do the current regulations, or the lack of them, provide fertile ground for economic crimes? Do they make the job of swindlers and fraudsters easier?

[Kuncze] Let us look at the case of the Hungarian Foundation for the Development of New Businesses: If it is possible to walk away with 600 million forints in this country without being punished, then something is wrong with the law. The same can be said of several privatization cases. Drawing the necessary conclusions from the processes, discovering where we need to intervene in the events and which laws need to be amended to prevent a repetition of cases that outraged the public and

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resulted in great losses of assets are precisely the goals of investigating cases where we suspect corruption in privatization. This is the only way to create purer public affairs. In some countries, people who make an enterprise bankrupt cannot start a new enterprise for a few years. In contrast to this, for some people in Hungary, it has become common practice to count the losses in one enterprise while counting the profits in another. After a while, the loss-making enterprise will be made bankrupt—and the creditors can do as they please—but a new enterprise will be founded the following day and the whole business started again. [passage omitted]

Editorial Assesses Relations With Meciar

AU1412073194 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Dec 94 p 3

[Editorial by Tibor Kis: "Shall We Learn From Klaus?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] By 11 December it was finally decided that the head of the next Slovak Government will be Vladimir Meciar. With this, the natural state of affairs will be restored in Bratislava. Slovakia has always stood by Meciar when it had a chance to do so. For years, he has been the most popular politician in this country, and for the Slovak public he has never been a failed politician—even when he did not head the government.

This will be the third time he is prime minister—and his opponents were again the main "king creators." These people have not once yet allowed him to fail of his own accord; they have never managed to wait until he expended himself as a politician so it would clearly come to light that he is unable to perform miracles in Slovakia. Meciar has repeatedly been put back in power because of the fact that his impatient opponents fired him via dubious parliamentary coups and, on two occasions, he was able to leave like a martyr from the Bratislava government building, with a crown of thorns on his head. This is how legends were created about him and this is how he managed to become the Vlado of all—or almost all—Slovaks. Contrary to all other information, Meciar is a rather clever politician; he is probably the most professional at this job in his country. He wants power and he knows how to get it. Of course, because of his precipitate falls, it has not been possible to discover exactly what he would do with this power. This time, we might find out. True, it is not so difficult to guess what Meciar might be planning. The new head of the Slovak Government is a national populist politician who, in addition, will exercise power in Slovakia at the head of a coalition formed of populist parties. In this sense, the establishment of the new Meciar cabinet fits in with a regional trend. It can easily be predicted that the governing of the strong man of Bratislava will again be authoritarian, and will not be averse to improvisations and outspoken national rhetoric.

Hungarian-Slovak relations have probably also arrived at a more problematic period. The chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia is an old acquaintance, and little good can be expected from him. We can forecast an increase of national minority tensions and, after a relatively peaceful period, an atmosphere of confrontations may easily develop on strictly bilateral issues. Easily, but not unavoidably. Things might take another course, but whether they will depends largely on Hungarian politics.

The previous Hungarian Government did not know what to do with the Meciar phenomenon. Justifiably or not, Meciar felt he was slighted by Jozsef Antall's government. He managed to put up with this all the less because, in his view, introducing Slovakia to adulthood was at stake after separating from the Czechs. At the moment, Bratislava is able to prove its emancipation against Hungary most easily (in the most impressive way for Slovak society). It is possible that the situation will become even more complicated for Gyula Horn's government. This summer, the new Budapest coalition was careless enough to place its bets on the Moravcik government—in spite of the fact that, at that time, the current Slovak domestic political change was beginning to assume quite a clear shape. Meciar's suspicion was probably increased by the new Hungarian prime minister's visit to Bratislava during the Slovak campaign, and even more by the delicate affair of the bilateral agreement and the Bos [water dam] issues. Formulations like "historic conciliation" cited by the Hungarians, do not mean anything to him, and he shows interest only toward the "Hungarian-Slovak compromise" or "Bos compromise" on his own conditions. However, it is a mistake to believe that Meciar is guided only by his emotions in politics or that his politics are instinctive. He can be very pragmatic and he is always very well aware of his interests. When he receives a business offer, he examines it. Therefore, it is possible that, in place of grand visions, the time for small steps and market place haggling has arrived in bilateral relations. Naturally, one must offer him something he is interested in accepting and something that will not be seen by the Slovak public as a surrender or an agreement of unequal sides.

The question is to what extent the new Hungarian Government speaks this language and how much patience it will have for a slow building of relations that promises few practical results. However, should Hungarian diplomats' patience run out, they must remember Vaclav Klaus. His example shows that Meciar can be managed as a politician. The way Klaus showed Meciar his proper place when Czechoslovakia was split was a masterpiece of its kind. Let us learn from Klaus then.

Defense Ministry Notes Romanian Army Reductions

LD1412211194 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1700 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Defense Ministry is preparing a draft parliamentary resolution about the planned Hungarian-Romanian military cooperation which, in the framework of the Partnership for Peace, would also extend to joint military exercises. This was

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said by Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti at today's session of the National Assembly's Defense Committee.

[Correspondent] Next year Romania will reduce the numbers in its Army by a further 42,000, following the reduction of 35,000 so far, said Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti at the session of the Defense Committee, in connection with the visit he paid on 18-19 November to the neighboring country. He stressed: On the Hungarian side there is a wish to see that the disarmament should also extend to an appropriate degree to the strongest Romanian unit stationed in Transylvania.

Gyorgy Keleti agreed with his Romanian colleague that at the beginning of next year they would coordinate the reduction in numbers of the units near the border.

The National Assembly's Defense Committee this afternoon also dealt with the transformation of the organization of the Border Guard. The changes that have taken place in the activity against international organized crime, in the prevention of migration, and in the legal, training, and economic conditions of the Border Guard make it necessary to conclude the transformation of the organization, which was begun four years ago.

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Olechowski: NATO Membership in Russia's Interest

BR1412161694 Paris LIBERATION in French 14 Dec 94 p 13

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski by Elisabeth Kulakowska in Warsaw; date not given: "'Poland in the European Union by Year 2000'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kulakowska] You have just returned from the European Union [EU] summit meeting in Essen. What do you have to report?

[Olechowski] The adoption of a prime ministership strategy that even a year ago seemed impossible is now a great success. The member states of the Union confirmed their desire to embrace the countries of Central Europe. However, I would have preferred the contents of this strategy to be more precise and more complete. The document in particular lacks details about trade: 30 percent of our economic potential is prevented free access to the European market—namely, textiles, steel, and agricultural products. Although we do not expect exact dates to be mentioned, we still do not have any timetable.

[Kulakowska] When do you hope Poland will be able to enter the EU?

[Olechowski] I would like us to join in the year 2000. That is a symbolic date and should be everyone's aim so that we can close a century of partitioning (in two blocs) and start the new millennium on the basis of a united Europe. The year 1995 will be very important for us. This is the first year the premembership strategy will apply. We also have a significant task ahead of us in adapting our law to the European legal system.

[Kulakowska] Are you pleased with the results of the German presidency? What do you expect from the French presidency that will start on 1 January?

[Olechowski] The German presidency ended with the adoption of the premembership strategy and the decision of the Essen Summit to invite the heads of government of the countries of Central Europe to attend the European summits once a year. This marks considerable progress and is the reason we feel the German presidency has been positive. I nevertheless feel that, if Germany had not been so concerned with its elections this year, we would have seen even better results. As for the French presidency, we hope it will continue with the process that has been started. I favor the project of Alain Lamassoure (French delegate minister for European affairs) for the organization of ministerial meetings once a month between the member states and the associated countries (Poland and five other countries of the former Eastern bloc) because this confirms the desire of France to push ahead with this process.

However, this initiative must be accompanied by the heightening of the awareness of French society to European problems and to our problems. If there is no strong political will, no debate on this question, and no backing from public opinion, the technocrats will not be able to do it on their own. For the time being, this debate exists only in Germany.

[Kulakowska] Europeans are split on the shape of a future Europe: Do you feel closer to the German view or to the French view?

[Olechowski] Poland has only just started to think about the structures of this future, enlarged Europe. What is certain is that we want a strong Europe and not an "a la carte" Europe. We want to be members of a united European community, not a two-tiered structure.

[Kulakowska] Your country is a candidate for NATO membership. How do you judge Russia's attitude, which is hostile to the eastward expansion of the Alliance?

[Olechowski] Nobody can oppose its veto on NATO decisions. That was said clearly at the CSCE summit meeting in Budapest. In our opinion, it is in NATO's interest and in the interest of the countries of Central Europe that they be brought into the structures of the Alliance. We also believe that it is in Russia's best interest. The enlargement of NATO, like that of the EU, in no way signifies the isolation of Russia. On the contrary, if European integration borders on Russia, then maybe one day Russia will also join NATO.

We are not pushing for NATO membership out of fear of Russia but because we want to build a new Europe. We are afraid that in two or three years the door that is now open to us may be closed again.

[Kulakowska] As Russia invades Chechnya, does Poland feel threatened by a return of Russian imperialism?

[Olechowski] The conflict in Chechnya concerns us insofar as Russia has not managed to resolve it other than through armed force. We are keeping a close eye on events there, and, in particular, we are watching the Russian Government's decisionmaking processes. However, we firmly believe that the democratic changes under way in Russia are now irreversible. As things stand, there is no reason to think that Russia constitutes a direct threat for Poland.

President Walesa, Coalition To Meet 21 Dec

LD1412205194 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting between President Lech Walesa and the presidiums of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] parliamentary floor groups will be held next on 21 December. Presidential spokesman Leszek Spalinski told Polish Radio that the date of the meeting was set in a telephone conversation between Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak and the president. Spalinski added that the meeting should clear all misunderstandings between the president and the government coalition.

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[Begin recording] [Spalinski] Among the current problems are the appointment of the defense minister and issues connected with the budget and bills associated with the budget. I think that some binding decisions may be made at this meeting. We will see whether the coalition will be able to accept them. The matter will then continue.

[Unidentified correspondent] What conditions would the government coalition have to fulfill, after the confusion around the candidacy for the post of minister of national defense and the matter concerning the presidential vetoes, to achieve a truce?

[Spalinski] My impression is that the president has implied on several occasions that his objective is to resolve problems of the state and the country. I have noticed—and I am concerned about this—that his friendly gestures have not met with approval. Let me remind you what happened with the appoinment to the post of chief police commander. What is happening now with the appointment of the minister of national defense does not bode well. Even if this does happen, even if the president's candidate is appointed to the post of minister of national defense, this will be an appointment made under pressure. As I said, this does not augur well.

However, I cannot think what is going to happen in a few days' or two weeks' time. Perhaps voices of common sense and concern about the well-being of the country will win. Perhaps the coalition will simply listen to reason. [end recording]

Party Maneuvering Before Elections Viewed

WS1512090094 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 10 Dec 94 p 7

[Article by Janina Paradowska: "The Prime Minister in Trouble, an Interim Government? Just To Make it Until the Elections: Fatigue of Material"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Longin Pastusiak was nominated as a candidate for defense minister only because no one else, aside from him and Jerzy Wiatr, agreed to enter the government. The coalition, most of all the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], deliberately gave up attempts to establish a more permanent arrangement inasmuch as everyone knows Pastusiak may at most become acting head of the National Defense Ministry [MON], in addition to opposing the president. This would not make it easy for him to sort out any of the issues that require sorting out. Thus, the ratings of the civilian ministry will not grow. The Polish Peasant Party [PSL] might get "its own" deputy minister in MON, although the purpose remains obscure, unless it is simply to gain one more post. The chess game to gain more ground continues with the expectation that someone or something will soon overturn the board anyway.

When two switchboards at the Sejm fell silent one after the other on Thursday, some tried to joke that the coup d'etat was not running along smoothly. Even the fact that the presidential veto of the tax bill was rejected did not cheer anyone up because it had already been known that Lech Walesa would submit the bill to the Constitutional Tribunal and continue to veto subsequent bills, including the one on the budget. One of those vetoes is bound to be effective in the end because the Union of Labor cannot afford to back the coalition on every issue, especially because the first time around, in connection with the tax bill, it was hoodwinked. This is not surprising because decisions on the tax rates were made without the agreement of the deputy prime minister and minister of finance (which is quite an astonishing practice), but with the approval of the prime minister.

The prime minister has gotten himself into a predicament, probably temporary, in connection with computer deals his friend made and yet another act of disloyalty towards the SLD, this time manifested in the nomination of Ryszard Kaczorowski for defense minister. For some time to come, he will approve anything. So far he has approved members of supervisory councils in the National Investment Funds.

Fatigue is becoming increasingly visible. The Sejm is tired, and, with each passing week, loses hope that it can make it through the end of the term. The coalition is also tired, more by the internal conflicts that continue to rock it than by jumping over the stumbling blocks the president has begun tossing in their path. It is rumored that a coalition agreement is to be renegotiated, but hardly anyone seems to care. In their speeches, the coalition deputies quote the Strategy for Poland as if it were the Holy Bible, in one breath with claims that seem to contradict Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko's project. The government does not give the impression that they are implementing a joint project, or that anyone really cares about such a project. "If we can only last until the presidential elections, unless the parliamentary ones are held earlier," we hear on all sides. And those are the extreme optimists speaking. The pessimists say: "If we can only make it until the budget is finally passed," meaning the beginning of February.

Nobody really knows what would happen afterwards. Even the newly elected president, whoever he may be, will be incapable of forming a new government without a parliamentary majority or at least the silent approval of the majority for a minority government. All speculations that a breakthrough will occur after the presidential elections are groundless until there emerges an idea for changing alliances, restructuring the government so that it could become more dynamic, or perhaps by expanding the coalition to one side to break the stalemate that has been dominating Polish politics.

No one is trying to develop such solutions right now, but everyone is becoming increasingly frustrated, which provides favorable conditions for developing the one area in which we are making considerable progress—how to beat the opponent (more rarely) or one's own partner

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(definitely more often the case). It is also very important to do well in opinion polls because the presidential elections are coming soon.

The coalition has a huge majority in the Sejm, the government seems to have huge political support, yet one gets the impression more and more often that this is an interim government, which it is even improper to enter now, so that one's name is not besmirched before the next round of elections. We are witnessing a performance for which a script seemed impossible to write last year. It is a performance no one wants to interrupt or at least attempt to write a script for the subsequent acts. After an interim acting head of MON, we might have an interim foreign affairs minister. What difference does it make? We have several ministers who seem real, who are there, but who give the impression of not being there at all.

It is generally accepted that two people are to blame for this state of affairs—the president, who is allegedly willing to do anything but leave Namienistkowski Palace [presidential residence], and the prime minister, who, according to an expression coined recently by the SLD, "is as incurable as communism." This is a very simple explanation. The role individuals play in history is undoubtedly large, but, in this particular instance, it has been mythicized. Neither Lech Walesa nor Waldemar Pawlak, however intricate the personal games they play (the prime minister's forte) or the legal overinterpretations they employ (a forte of the president), will undermine Polish democracy if there is a political will to defend it. That will is nowhere to be seen. If a single presidential veto, which is very easy to override anyway, gives rise to a conviction that the days of the Sejm are numbered, it means that politicians do not believe in the stability of democratic institutions and procedures, and they themselves tend to admit that the term of the parliament is something that can be tampered with at will, and that practically speaking, were it not for the sad necessity of returning to old jobs, there would be nothing for which to fight.

On the one hand, we observe the proud belief that the Sejm is omnipotent, which is manifested, for instance, in the passing of even very faulty laws either because of current needs (which in extreme cases results in very bizarre initiatives, for example amending the law on the service of professional soldiers only because the SLD had won elections in Wloclawek and Sulejowek and wants to fill posts in the local administration with the military). On the other hand, a complete lack of trust in basic principles of democracy is becoming increasingly visible—for instance, in the constitutionally prescribed terms in office, the possibility of dissolving the Sejm in cases strictly defined by the Constitution, demanding that highest-level state officials observe the law. The "weasel word for weasel word," "trick for trick" attitude is beginning to crystallize between the two. The president is probably thinking what he can do to not sign the budget, so we will not give him a budget to sign. After all, the Constitution does not specify any deadline, so perhaps we can do it after the presidential elections. The president will not appoint a defense minister unless the candidacy is presented to him for approval, so other solutions have to be sought, and deputy ministers should be appointed without a ministerial application. The prime minister has already done this at the Ministry of Finance, and nothing happened. Indeed, the "Falandization" of law in Poland is unjustly associated with the name of the Belweder's secretary of state.

This is the course of politics in Poland—between minor and larger scandals, personal games, games played by nearly 100 individuals at the top, cheered by several hundred at the lower levels, who do not even know what is really going on. They go after us, we go after them. Eventually, perhaps in the not-so-distant future, we will get dissolved anyway. And, of course, there are self-fulfilling prophecies.

ZCHN Leader Presents Plan To Unify Right

LD1412175594 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1405 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 14 Dec—Ryszard Czarnecki, acting chairman of the Christian-National Union [ZCHN], presented his own plan for the unification of the Polish right to journalists on Wednesday. This would be a coalition with a confederal structure, created by the parties of the Covenant for Poland [PdP] (Center Alliance [PC], ZCHN, Conservative Coalition [KK], Movement for the Republic [RdR], and Peasants' Alliance [PL]) and the 11 November Accord [P11L] (Union for Real Politics [UPR], Conservative Party [PK], Party of Christian-Democrats [PChD], Peasant-Christian Party [SLCh], Party of National Democracy [SND]). Czarnecki did not preclude the possibility of the participation in the coalition of other right-wing groupings as well.

In Czarnecki's view, the quickest possible unification of the right is being demanded by its electorate. The unification of the right is necessary because there exists a real possibility of early parliamentary elections in which the right could run a single list.

Czarnecki stressed that the creation of such a coalition would maintain the autonomy, sovereignty, and independence of each of the parties entering it. "This is a more realistic solution than the creation of a single party. In this way, we avoid the disputes arising from the dissolution of parties and the creation of lots of groupings formed by dissatisfied activists," said the leader of the ZCHN.

Czarnecki announced that a program conference would be held on 9 January 1995 to which representatives of the parties that form the PdP and the P11L would be invited.

In Czarnecki's view, the basis for the coalition ought to be a joint program. The leader of the ZCHN presented

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six basic values on which this program ought to be based: the primacy of the national interest in politics, the idea of a strong state, the freedom of the citizen, private property and its maximum dissemination, decisive struggle against crime, and respect for Christian values. [passage omitted]

In such a coalition, the ZCHN would be the "staple" linking groupings that are very different, such as, for instance, the Center Alliance and the Union for Real Politics, Czarnecki stated. "It is clear that certain groupings do not agree with each other over everything. The ZCHN maintains relations that are far from poor with both the PC and the UPR, so that is why I feel that my concept is a realistic one", he said. He added that he counts on the fact that, in the future, such a coalition might gain the formal support of Solidarity.

Council Amends 1995 Draft Budget Law

LD1412225294 Warsaw PAP in Polish 2138 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 14th December—At its working meeting today, the Council of Ministers adopted amendments to the draft budget law for 1995. The amendments regard taxation and pay in the public sector, the government press office added.

The Council of Ministers appointed the government plenipotentiary for women. Town Planning Minister Barbara Blida was appointed to this post, the government press office statement said.

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Foreign Minister Examines 'New' CSCE

AU1412160094 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 7 Dec 94 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu by Marius Petrean; place and date not given: "The Countries That Believed That It Is Possible To Disregard the CSCE's Fundamental Principles Have Failed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Petrean] Mr. Minister, before the Budapest round, there was some talk about a possible "historical change for the CSCE." Can one indeed talk about a "new" CSCE after the latest summit?

[Melescanu] I believe one can talk about a new CSCE—mainly because it has a completely different composition from the CSCE of a few years ago; second, because it can no longer have the same goals. The CSCE, as a classic institution, if we might call it that, is characteristic of the "Cold War" and it represented the only forum for discussions between East and West. The current, post-Budapest CSCE is a forum in which there are no longer countries belonging to different blocs. Third, it will be an organization that will no longer be the only place for dialogue between countries from various parts of the world. I could mention that almost all these countries belong to the Council of Europe. Similarly, many of us have the status of associate partner in the European Union and, last but not least, there is also the program of partnership with NATO to be considered.

The CSCE will have to reorient its activity, and, most probably, as it results also from the document that was negotiated in Budapest, will mainly be involved in what is called preventative diplomacy. A number of functions of the old CSCE will be taken over by other bodies; the major part of the dialogue on political and security issues is being taken over by NATO; issues referring to human rights will be mainly taken over by the Council of Europe; and economic issues are currently to a great extent under the auspices of the European Union.

Thus, this is a different CSCE—also because it has another range of interests. It is a different CSCE because today there are serious discussions about its involvement in defusing conflicts. Unfortunately, the end of the "Cold War" has not automatically brought about a situation of lasting peace. There are many areas of conflict and the CSCE is increasingly often being asked to become involved in actions to find solutions to these conflicts.

However, one should admit that there has not been any fundamental change. There is a process of changes that is not over; it has barely been outlined.

[Petrean] What do you think was the most noteworthy failure of the proposals presented to the Budapest summit?

[Melescanu] The greatest failure was felt by those countries that believed that it is possible to achieve a complete redesigning of the CSCE, to dismiss the fundamental principles that constituted the foundation of this forum (the rule of consensus), to establish certain bodies with a limited or selective composition, and so on and so forth.

[Petrean] What do you think is the greatest success of the recent CSCE summit?

[Melescanu] The greatest success of the CSCE summit is that it has outlived the historical period for which it was created—the period of confrontation—and has succeeded in finding goals and tasks in the new geopolitical conditions.

Defense Ministry Directorate Gets New Chief

AU1412203994 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 10-11 Dec 94 p 1

[Article by Doru Dragomir: "By Decree Issued by Romania's President, Major General Constantin Vasile, Head of the Financial Directorate of the Ministry of National Defense Has Been Transferred to Reserve Duty"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Major General Constantin Vasile, head of the Financial Directorate of the Ministry of National Defense, has been transferred to reserve duty by decree signed by President Ion Iliescu.

Lieutenant Colonel Ioan Moise, head of the Press Bureau of the Ministry of National Defense, informed us that "the general was transferred to reserve duty with right to pension in accordance with the provisions of the law. The transfer to reserve duty has been made upon the general's request, because his state of health would no longer permit him to work with maximum efficiency in fulfilling his duties. With the necessary endorsement, Col. Vasile Corhaneanu was promoted to the position of head of the Financial Directorate of the Ministry of National Defense. So far, he was head of the Central Budget and Accountability Section of the same directorate."

Rodica Becleanu Said 'Not Fit To Clean Office'

AU1412205894 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 6 Dec 94 p 1

[Commentary by Ion Cristoiu: "From Henry Kissinger to Rodica Becleanu"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Romania's National Day, President Ion Iliescu made a statement that amazed everyone: Rodica Becleanu had been appointed to the Political Analysis Department of the presidency. This individual needs no introduction from me to our readers. As a television reporter specially appointed to Cotroceni [presidential headquarters], she managed to personify perfectly that type of woman who, having reached an erotically critical age, pours all her hormonal surplus over a public personality. Her reports on the life and activity of Ion Iliescu were drenched in signs of her secret love for the president. Whenever she began talking

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about Iliescu, her voice filled with intense sexual vibrations. And, on the other hand, whenever she began talking about Iliescu's adversaries, Becleanu displayed a repulsive malice, the kind of venomous malice that makes people call such people shrews. When we think back to the misty period of Romanian transition, apart from the faces of our physically handicapped children, we will also remember the ghastly voice of Rodica Becleanu.

I do not believe that I need dwell on explaining what led to Becleanu's recent appointment to such an office. Although the president of our country has twice emerged victorious in free and direct elections, he is still a male. And what male could remain passionless seeing how someone within his reach, equipped with breasts and round hips, is melting like a candle in the fire that keeps burning inside her? To insist on this aspect of her appointment would be tantamount to lowering the level of our commentary to the inferior standards of the barbers described by playwright Caragiale. Therefore, we will concentrate on a different and much graver aspect, which says everything about just how little professional competence counts in Iliescu's eyes.

As is known, after World War II the policy of U.S. presidents was based on the appraisals of their political analysts. The historic Truman doctrine damning communism, publicly announced on 12 March 1947, in the presidential speech on the bill granting military assistance to Turkey and Greece, had its source in the foreign policy studies carried out by George Kennan. The detente option initiated by President Nixon to ease relations with the USSR was based on the thesis and concepts of Henry Kissinger. As a special counselor of the U.S. President, this foreign policy expert formulated the thesis that the United States had to achieve detente in its relations with the USSR. Kissinger pleaded for that in order to put an end to the policy of force as practiced by previous presidents, namely confinement, as done by Truman, and rollback [previous word published in English], as done by Eisenhower. President Nixon was massively inspired by that concept of Henry Kissinger.

According to the Constitution, the responsibility for Romania's foreign policy lies with the president. The strategic orientation of the country, the vital alliances of the Romanian nation, and the fundamental options of our homeland of 22 million souls are all based on studies carried out by the Political Analysis Department of the Presidency. Therefore, all such decisions, crucial for the fate of Romania, a country currently at the crossroads, will depend on what is going on in Rodica Becleanu's cute little head. Doubtless, the president will be basing foreign policy decisions on political analysis arising from her curly head. And if one considers that things sound much better if they are articulated by sweet female lips, one may quite safely anticipate that the points of view of Rodica Becleanu will enjoy priority over the ideas asserted by the mouths, garnished with beards or moustaches, of the male employees in the department. Thus, Rodica Becleanu will become a kind of Henry Kissinger of modern Romania. Rodica Becleanu, who does not even have the necessary training to be fit to clean the offices of the Political Analysis Department, let alone work for it as a member of its staff! Poor country! Poor nation!

Hungary's Tabajdi Speaks on Bilateral Relations

AU1512094094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The proceedings of the international symposium: Central and East Europe After 1989—a symposium organized by Reformed Bishop of Oradea Laszlo Tokes—continued at the Continental Hotel in Timisoara, today. One of the speakers was Csaba Tabajdi, political state secretary of the cabinet of Hungary's prime minister, who said, among other things, that all bilateral problems accumulated over centuries can and must be resolved only by Hungary and Romania. This requires time and patience.

Today's proceedings were also attended by Mr. Erno Rudas, Hungary's ambassador to Bucharest.

'Explosion' in Congenital Infant Deformities

AU1412214094 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 9 Dec 94 p 6

[Report by Florin Adrian: "Explosion in Number of Babies Born With Congenital Deformities"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "In Romania, a country whose population is a third of Great Britain's, the number of children born with deformities, especially congenital ones, is six times greater. This situation has become alarming especially lately, both regarding the frequency and the gravity of the cases, so that deformities rank second among the causes of infant mortality, following traumas caused by accidents," Professor Dr. Alexandru Pesamosca, the head of the surgical clinic of the M.S. Curie Hospital, told us.

In the view of this eminent surgeon, the causes of this deformity "explosion" are not unconnected with the long-term consequences of the Chernobyl nuclear accident, as well as harmful factors (poor food supplies and living conditions, and stress) affecting pregnant women.

A special problem is congenital heart deformities, which in our country are operated upon only with children over seven, as we lack the proper equipment to operate on the younger ones. Whereas in the West they can operate on children immediately after birth, out of 2,000 such cases in Romania they can merely operate on 20 in their first years of life. "It is tragic that about 80 percent of such children die before they reach the age of seven, and this is caused either directly by heart deformities or by lung complications that appear later on. The same goes for children who have cancer, who—if they are not subjected to surgery and further treatment before they are

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five—have extremely low chances of survival. Compare this with the fact that elsewhere in the world children's cancer cases achieve an 80-percent success rate. Is it not necessary to set up a top-level, modern, fourth generation-type hospital in Romania, where children represent one quarter of the population, to deal with all surgical pathology?" asked Professor Pesamosca rhetorically.

'Deadly' Accidents at Heavy Water Plant Viewed

AU1512090394 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 Dec 94 p 4

[Report by Petre Mihai Bacanu: "Hydrogen Sulphide and Bivol's Money"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A man driving past the heavy water plant [at Halanga, close to the town of Drobeta Turnu Severin] saw another fall down dead. He stopped the car and opened the door, hoping to help him, but within a few seconds he himself was also dead, killed by hydrogen sulphide gas escaping from the systems of the ROMAG [Romanian Heavy Water Company]. Had he not stopped at all, but rather speeded on, he would probably have survived.

This killer gas escapes from ROMAG whenever the steam supply for the plant is interrupted. Such interruptions at the Drobeta CET [thermal power plant] are deadly. Everyone agrees that the Drobeta CET is unable to ensure the necessary quantity of technological steam for ROMAG except by having all six 420-metric-tons-per-hour steam boilers that run on lignite, and especially all three steam boilers that run on black oil (one of which has a capacity of 420 metric tons per hour, and the other two 105 metric tons per hour) running absolutely perfectly. In any case, the lignite supplied by the mines in Mehedinti County does not suffice even for three of the steam boilers. The single-track railroad line leading to the plant is also limited to the delivery of 11,000, instead of the necessary 14,000, metric tons of lignite per day.

The government has approved an increase of funds intended for improvements to the steam boilers; and work was scheduled to be concluded by the end of 1994. Now we are in mid-December and would like to draw the government's attention to the fact that the work is still not finished.

RCMAG needs 660 metric tons of steam per hour, while the hot water demand for heating in the Drobeta Turnu Severin municipality in winter amounts to 220 metric tons per hour. The heating part is running so "smoothly" that an entire district, called Crihala, of the municipality has declined to be connected to that heating system. They have done so because the price per gigacalorie is extremely high and heating is interrupted whenever it is most needed. So the people bought themselves stoves and stuck tin chimneys out of the windows of their flats.

Whichever department at the ROMAG plant, catastrophes are bound to happen. As the plant runs at a 75-percent overload, the pipes simply have to choke. An even greater danger is caused by the leaks in the hydrogen sulphide pumps and in the horizontal heat exchangers.

Hydrogen sulphide gas represents a high risk for the people, flora, and fauna of that region. In 1988 the authorities said that the equipment met safety requirements, but the series of accidents has been ceaseless ever since. For their own protection, 808 families living there were to be moved out to the locality of Simian. However, that safety zone is also inadequate. Nor has the protection sensor system with its three degrees of sensitivity ever been completed. ROMAG has no environmental authorization, but it does have a "definitive" sanitary authorization issued by the Preventive Medical Center of Mehedinti County. [passage omitted]

Heavy Water Plant Described as 'Ecological Bomb'

AU1512085994 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 Dec 94 p 1

[Report by Petre Mihai Bacanu: "Heavy Water"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed readers, I hope by now you are familiar with the term heavy water. This stuff has caused several tragic accidents at Halanga (a locality close to the town of Drobeta Turnu Severin). It also generates uncertainty about the running of the Cernavoda nuclear power station. Heavy water also gives headaches to the government, which has examined at many cabinet meetings the functioning of this ROMAG [Romanian Heavy Water Company] station. Just a few drops of it could kill the entire fish population of a large lake (and ROMAG is situated just 10 kilometers away from the Danube River). This is why ROMAG may be considered an ecological bomb. Nevertheless, our government stubbornly insists on producing our own heavy water at all costs, just a few kilometers away from Drobeta Turnu Severin, whereas in Canada, for instance, such stations are located at least 100 kilometers from the nearest settlement. A possible explosion at Halanga would be tantamount to a disaster for the whole of Oltenia.

The "Drobeta syndrome" does not merely mean serious hydrogen sulphide poisoning cases, which that have ceased to appear mysterious. It also means financial problems. One kilogram of heavy water for the Cernavoda nuclear power station produced at the Halanga station costs $1,100 (or perhaps even more.) One kilogram of imported heavy water costs $227, or, to be more exact, $226.89. The difference amounts to $873 for every kilogram of heavy water. The government could use the money saved in this way to lay off the 3,000 employees of ROMAG and still pay them ministerial-style salaries. Conceivably there would even be some money left over for Prime Minister Vacaroiu to do with as he wishes—for instance to improve our poor budget.

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If one carefully examines the sequences of the heavy water loading process at Reactor 1 at the Cernavoda nuclear power station, one realizes that the deficit of the first load amounts to 363 kilograms, which will have to be imported anyway. If we were to produce it ourselves, the cost would be $400,000. However, if we decided to import it, we would pay just $82,000. The difference becomes even more dramatic if one calculates the entire payload of heavy water.

The government examined this situation in January and February 1993. They decided to take measures to increase the reliability of the functioning of the Drobeta CET [thermal power station] and to provide sufficient thermal power to the heavy water station. The industry minister even issued an order (No. 1544 of 25 May 1993) and other decisions were made, but the situation remained unchanged: ROMAG continues to be an ecological and financial bomb even though the Vacaroiu cabinet decreed: "The Drobeta FE [expansion unknown] and ROMAG have zero priority in the system."

Everything depends on the supply of steam needed by the heavy water station. Interruptions in the steam supply lead to accidents and also financial losses. The sole solution would be the introduction of steam boilers running on black oil, which, unlike those running on coal, start producing steam more rapidly. Accidents occur when the steam supply is interrupted. In such situations the hydrogen sulphide gas "freezes" and escapes into the environment. On top of everything, it stays close to the ground no higher than the height of a man. Of course, there are other solutions as well, such as electric heating for the impulse pipes [conducte de impuls] or equipment to extract the heat left in the non-purifiable condensed residues (by reintroducing the condensed residues to the upper part of the isotope exchange module [modulul de schimb izotopic], and so on.

Why has none of this been done? On page 4 of this issue you can see that, owing to the petty interests of certain preferentially treated companies, they have been endlessly delaying the introduction of steam boilers running on black oil, which have not even been officially approved yet. The precarious character of ROMAG's security systems comes from the deficient functioning of the steam boilers.

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1st Corps Reportedly Liberates Territory in Trnovo

AU1512105994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The united units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina 1st Corps and the Sarajevo Public Security Center have liberated 20 square km of the temporarily occupied territories on the Trnovo battlefield in the past two days. After fierce and prolonged aggressor's attempts to recapture the earlier liberated territories in this area, the united forces of the 1st Corps and the Sarajevo Public Security Center moved into a powerful counter-offensive and managed to push the enemy toward Trnovo. Beside liberating new territories with extremely important installations in [words indistinct] sense, they inflicted enormous losses in manpower upon the enemy. More than 40 chetniks were killed and considerable quantities of military hardware seized. The new lines are stable and represent a good [word indistinct] for further advancement of our troops in the liberation of the temporarily occupied territories of our country, the 1st Corps Information Service has reported.

Two Killed, 'Several' Injured in Bihac Shelling

AU1512111294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 15 Dec 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Two killed and several injured is the consequence of a bestial shelling of Bihac town center, which has so far this morning been suffering attacks by Karadzic's and Martic's chetniks from the so-called republic of Serb Krajina.

In the past 24 hours, [words indistinct] in this chetnik offensive. More than 3,000 destructive artillery and tank rounds have landed on the territory of Velika Kladusa municipality, on Grmusa-Srbljani Plateau, and on the Grabez part of the front in this period. The chetniks are simply destroying and burning down everything that crosses their path, trying to conquer this town and (?also break through the defense lines on the plateau). The members of the 5th Corps are resisting heroically and thwarting chetnik intentions.

Savage attacks have also continued in the Bosanska Krupa part of the front, where they have again attacked with Gamma combat helicopters. [passage omitted]

Serb Gama Helicopter Attacks Positions in Bihac

AU1412192594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The artillery attacks by the united aggressors on the positions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps and residential areas in Bihac and Velika Kladusa have intensified significantly in comparison to yesterday.

The aggressor has been pounding the defense line along the stretch of the Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau, Debeljaca hill, and the village of Bugar, reports the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center.

The enemy has been firing tank cannons and 120-mm mortars at the center of Bihac. Several civilian casualties have been reported.

Yesterday alone over 5,000 missiles over the 82-mm caliber were fired at the area of Bihac. On the south-western slopes of Debeljaca hill the aggressor attempted four infantry breakthroughs with strong artillery support. All these attacks by the aggressor were successfully repulsed by the fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps. Heavy losses were inflicted on the enemy.

As for the Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau and the Grabez Heights, the aggressor has launched several combined armored-infantry attacks preceded by heavy artillery attacks.

The aggressor has been pounding the Velika Kladusa part of the front from the UN Protected Areas in Croatia. These attacks have been directed at the villages of Polje, Trni, and the center of Velika Kladusa. Several thousand missiles of various calibers have landed on this area. The positions of the 5th Corps fighters on the Buzim front have been exposed to fire from the aggressor's tanks and mortars from the direction of Suzici, Vajagici, and (Blajici). The enemy has been firing from tanks from Osmaca, Bratica Hill, and (Panjak) at the positions of the 5th Corps members in the region of Bosanska Krupa and Otoka.

The aggressor also strafed and pounded Cojluk hill from a Gama helicopter, reports the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center.

Serbs Said Using Helicopters, Chemical Agents

AU1412122294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Karadzic's and Martic's attacks on the Bihac District have continued all last night and this morning. Artillery and tank attacks on the town, suburban areas, and defense lines were stepped up during the midnight hours. Through superhuman efforts, our defenders are combating breakthrough attempts from the so-called republic of Serb Krajina. Chetniks have been operating against facilities of vital importance, town water mains, and roads. The regional hospital is also being attacked by the aggressor.

Since (?yesterday) morning, Martic's and Karadzic's chetniks have been attacking Velika Kladusa Municipality from two directions. In their attacks on this region, they are using artillery and tanks and attempting infantry breakthroughs. Fierce battles lasted all night and have continued this morning.

The chetniks are continuing attacks on the Bosanska Krupa section of the front again, using combat helicopters and chemical agents when trying to break through to

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the left bank of the Una River. The aggressor is bringing new [word indistinct] and military hardware, our correspondent Mirza Sadikovic reports.

Serb Forces Assembling in 4th Corps Area

AU1412212094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Dec 94

[Report by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 4th Corps from Mostar]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor has activated his artillery from (Krnja Ravan) on the (Zupa)-Bjelimici front against our defense lines, and has been firing from a tank from (Kurbovac) at the villages of Tinje and (Sidnic).

In the 4th Corps' southern theater of operations, the chetniks fired using a tank from (Cobanovo Polje) in the direction of Stari Grad. A B-1 gun from Gradina has been firing at (Svracici), while a Zis gun from [word indistinct] has been firing at the M-17 road near Vrapcici.

The enemy has intensified his reconnaissance of our positions over the entire 4th Corps theater of operations. Enemy troop groupings have been registered along the Nevesinje-Glavaticevo, Nevesinje-Bijelo Polje, and Nevesinje-Blagaj stretches. The regrouping of the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor and Karadzic's chetniks in the 4th Corps theater of operations indicates preparations for a new chetnik offensive in the Neretva River valley. The forces of the 4th Corps are closely watching all the aggressor's movements and are preparing to respond actively to any hellish chetnik plan to capture the free territory along the Neretva valley.

Serbs Said Maintaining Pressure on Peacekeepers

AU1512095194 Paris AFP in English 0932 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 15 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs turned down clearance for fuel convoys needed by the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in Sarajevo, maintaining the pressure on UN peacekeepers, spokesman Lieutentant-Colonel Patrick Declety said Thursday.

The refusal, for which no reason was given, leaves UNPROFOR with just seven days of supplies of petrol and diesel for its operations in and around Sarajevo, including its strategic reserve, Declety said.

A convoy of 30,000 litres arrived in Sarajevo on Monday after being held up at a Serb checkpoint for two days, and another convoy of 32 litres was hijacked by armed Serbs as it approached a checkpoint and has not been seen since.

UNPROFOR in Sarajevo consumes an average of 30,000 litres of fuel per day.

The latest convoy delay came the day after Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic asked former U.S. President Jimmy Carter to mediate fresh peace talks on Bosnia, and outlined a six-point plan to improve relations with UN forces. The Karadzic plan included guaranteeing freedom of movement for UN convoys, reopening the Sarajevo airport, a ceasefire in and around Sarajevo and a pledge to respect international norms on human rights.

UN and Bosnian Serb leaders were due to meet at the Serb "capital" Pale later Thursday to draw up new convoy clearance procedures for the Sarajevo region.

Meanwhile in operations since Wednesday morning government troops seized several Serb-held positions just outside the demilitarised zone to the south of the capital, Declety noted.

Rose Reportedly Blocked Air Support Request

AU1412142894 Paris AFP in English 1405 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Dec 14 (AFP)—UN peacekeeping commander Sir Michael Rose took the decision to refuse a request for air support by embattled UN troops in Bihac, German chief of staff General Klaus Naumann said Wednesday [14 December].

He told a press conference that because of General Rose's decision, NATO never received the request for air support made by the UN peacekeepers after a missile attack on Monday wounded four Bangladeshi UN soldiers, one of whom died on Tuesday from his wounds.

Initial statements from UN spokesmen in Sarajevo indicated that the UN command there had passed the request for air support on to NATO and that no response was forthcoming.

But on Wednesday UN Sarajevo spokesman Lt-Col. Jan-Dirk von Merveldt said the request by UN troops in Bihac had been assessed at command headquarters there and "it was decided that (air support) was not a suitable or appropriate response" and that "the request never went up the chain."

5th Corps Blamed for Attack on Bangladeshi Troops

LD1512041294 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] This morning Velkaton Radio broadcast a statement by the supreme command of the autonomous province of western Bosnia [APWB] in which the so-called 5th Corps is accused of colluding with the Bangladeshi battalion of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. Gojko Dakic reports from Cazin Krajina:

[Dakic] The media in Cazin Krajina today again focused their attention on an incident near Plazikur near Velika

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Kladusa in which fire was opened at an armored vehicle belonging to UNPROFOR's Bangladeshi battalion, wounding four members of the UN peacekeeping forces. On one hand, the media under the control of the Sarajevo regime have blamed the incident on, as they put it, Abdic's rebels. On the other hand, the APWB supreme command issued a statement this morning, broadcast by Velkaton Radio, insisting that the extremists from Izetbegovic's 5th Corps were behind the incident which took place in an area under their control.

It is said in the statement that the APWB supreme command has incontrovertible evidence that the Bangladeshi Blue Helmets are acting in collusion with the 5th Corps which they have supplied with ample quantities of arms and ammunition.

It is interesting to mention that pro-Islamic media and Zagreb press have blamed the attack near Plazikur on the Serb forces complaining at the same time of a lack of action by NATO bombers.

Karadzic Promises Better Relations With UN

LD1412203894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1922 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec—Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic today promised [UN secretary general envoy] Yasushi Akashi that "everything will be done to improve relations with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]".

After the talks in Pale with the UN secretary general's special envoy, Karadzic said "this will be easier to do the fewer threats there are from the international community," and if an equal treatment of the Serb and Muslim sides is adopted.

According to a report broadcast on Bosnian Serb Radio-Television, received in Belgrade, Karadzic and Akashi discussed the issues of a cease-fire in the territory of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and overall relations between UNPROFOR and the Srpska republic.

"We are aware of the fact that we must improve our relations with UNPROFOR," Karadzic said. "We know that Mr. Akashi and the UN high commands are trying, and deep down are, unbiased. However, the international community, represented by UNPROFOR here, is not unbiased, and we are not treated equally," the leader of the Bosnian Serbs said.

According to Serb Radio-TV, Akashi said after the meeting that they had discussed the resumption of the peace process and that an accord was reached to direct all efforts toward a general cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including Bihac. "We succeeded in formulating the final version of this accord and we also reached agreement on our opinion and attitude to harmonizing the text of the next cease-fire agreement," Akashi said.

He also said that there were several specific draft agreements regarding the current situation in Bosnia, the return of UNPROFOR's confiscated equipment and an agreement on changing UNPROFOR units and their departure prior to Christmas holidays. "We agreed on a procedure to secure free movement for UNPROFOR, so convoys can pass checkpoints without hindrance," Akashi said.

Butrus Ghali's envoy said that a specific agreement on this would be reached tomorrow at a meeting between Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the Srpska republic assembly, and UNPROFOR commander General Michael Rose, Serb Radio and TV said.

The meeting in Pale was also attended by Bertrand de Lapresle and Michael Rose, UNPROFOR commanders for former Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina; UNHCR head Karim Abu Zaid; UNPROFOR Civilian Sector head Viktor Andreyev; Srpska republic Vice President Nikola Koljevic; Srpska assembly Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik; Zdravko Tolimir, deputy chief of general staff of the Srpska army; and Srpska republic Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha.

UN Pullout Would Mean Enclave Occupation by Serbs

LD1412195694 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, warned in an interview with the TELEGRAF weekly of Belgrade, that UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] withdrawal from former Bosnia-Herzegovina would be a handicap for the Muslims. Radovan Karadzic noted that UNPROFOR representatives themselves had realized that in that case the Srpska army would immediately take the eastern enclaves. We would certainly do so straight away, thus relieving 20,000 soldiers who would be used in other operations. Following the finalization of the operation in the Bihac area, we would have another 20,000 fighters at our disposal.

By using this force we could carve Bosnia up into 10 enclaves and control every key route and position, thus forcing the Muslims to bow to our conditions following their total defeat, President Karadzic said. In his interview for TELEGRAF, President Karadzic commented on the Srpska republic's future relations with Fikret Abdic, the leader of the western Bosnia Muslims. We have signed a peace with Abdic. We regard him as the legitimate president, i.e., the man supported by the people of western Bosnia. Our attack on Bihac did not come out of the blue. We did so because the Muslims had launched an offensive from this protected zone and taken almost 300 square km of our territory, the president of the republic noted.

Karadzic said the character of relations between the Srpska republic and western Bosnia will be outlined by

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the people's assembly. The Srpska republic constitution stipulates that the people have to decide by referendum on any kind of union.

Delic: Political Solutions To Precede Joint Army

LD1412224794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Immediately before the session of the constituent assembly, Rasim Delic, commander of the main headquarters of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, made a statement for the Bosnia-Herzegovina news agency. Joint actions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croat Defense Council [HVO] will continue. Political preparations for coordinated military action are a different matter. We are soldiers and we do our job best in the field. This is where we should coordinate more, General Delic said.

Asked if political disagreements on certain issues will affect the outcome of joint military action of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO, Delic said: I believe that anything contraversial can be solved politically because this is an imperative for the Bosniak Muslim and Croat nations in this region. It will be the easiest for the soldiers to work together, Gen. Delic said.

Speaking about the possibility of establishing a joint army in the near future, Delic stressed that the term joint army should be avoided because it alludes to a completely different issue. One state has one army, and this is why we must aspire towards forming a single army. By regulating that army within the republic and the federation, adequate solutions can be found. No one knows how long this will take because other matters, which are in the interest of the average (?working) man, must be solved first. This is primarily the solving of [word indistinct], the setting up of the bodies of authority at the highest levels, the return of refugees, and [words indistinct]. The army can only follow the above because we cannot start building the house from the roof, but from the foundation, Gen. Delic stressed.

Federation Deputies Disagree on President Change

AU1412212294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] After two days of postponements, the session of the Constituent Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina opened shortly after 1800. Mujo Delibegovic reports on the session from Zenica. Good evening.

[Delibegovic] Good evening. The session is still in recess. We expect the deputies, that is, the representatives to return at any minute with, we hope, harmonized views on the changeover of the president and vice president of the federation.

The sixth session of the Constituent Assembly began in an atmosphere of expectation. Such an atmosphere has been present here in Zenica since Monday. After only about 20 minutes of work, after Mariofil Ljubic, chairman of the Federal Assembly, had proposed a 28-point agenda, which did not include the changeover of the president and the vice president of the Federation, Kresimir Zubak and Ejup Ganic respectively, for the next six months, Edhem Bicakcic from the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] took the floor and presented that party's views.

He said that the Vienna Agreement envisages an automatic changeover of these posts. According to Bicakcic, the SDA holds the view that the session should confirm the changeover and that the post of the president in the next six months should be held by Dr. Ganic, since, as he said, the Constitution and the Vienna Agreement are holy writ.

Responding on behalf of the Croatian deputies' caucus, Ivan Bender said that this was both a political and legal matter, and that the official gazetteer has stated that Kresimir Zubak would hold this office without any set time limit. Moreover, the Croatian deputy caucus holds the view that the time for the switch in the posts is not yet right, because elections cannot be held. Bender also pointed out that according to the Vienna Agreement, the transitional period automatically extends the mandate. He said that the Croats cannot accept the Muslims holding all the top posts and mentioned them individually. After that, Enver Kreso from the SDA reacted to this remark as it had been directed at Bosniaks. Bender proposed further harmonization of views since this issue should not affect good relations. The Croats are in favor of the federation, Bender said.

These were the only speeches at the sixth session of the Federal Assembly. We are still expecting the deputies to return to the hall.

Assembly Session Suspended

LD1412201294 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Dec 94

[Telephone report by Smiljko Sagolj from Zenica]

[FBIS Translated Text] After delegations from the SDA [Party of Democratic Action; rallying Muslims] and HDZ [Croat Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina] spent several hours discussing the agenda this afternoon, the sixth session of the constituent session of the Assembly of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Federation began here in Zenica this evening, but a break was called after 15 minutes.

Before the agenda was agreed upon, SDA Deputy Chairman Edhem Bicakcic requested that—as he put it, in line with the Washington agreement—Mr. Ejup Ganic should become president and Mr. Kresimir Zubak the vice president of the federation. He said that this was, and I quote, a technical issue which the federation assembly only needs to acknowledge because this happens automatically as stipulated by the constitution and

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the Vienna agreement, and the Muslim Bosniak people believe that these documents should be observed, Mr. Bicakcic concluded.

Mr. Ivan Bender took the floor on behalf of the club of deputies of the Croat nation and said that this was not only a technical but also a political and legal issue, and that the transition period of six months was not defined but that it was prolonged [as heard]. Furthermore, it is against the spirit of the constitution and all laws, Bender said, that the Croats do not have a single leading position in the federation, so he requested that Kresimir Zubak remain president and Mr. Ejup Ganic remain as vice president of the federation.

Assembly Speaker Mariofil Ljubic called a half-hour break, and he will suggest to the assembly not to discuss this issue this evening, but to agree on the agenda. The Federation Assembly will probably resume work tomorrow as well. That is, of course, unless it suspends the session this evening over this— for the SDA technical and for the HDZ exceptionally important— political and legal issue.

Izetbegovic Condemns Serb 'Atrocities'

AU1412204894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Dec 94

[Report by Nermin Karamehmedovic from Casablanca]

[FBIS Translated Text] The seventh summit of the member countries of the Organization of Islamic Conference [OIC] has continued its work today with a plenary session, attended by delegations from 52 member countries, and some 20 with guest or observer status, among which was Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The session, which was held behind closed doors, was first addressed by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, who said the following among other things:

I imagine that you know a lot about what has been happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina over the last two and a half years. Recently a Turkish historian said that only the (Mongolian) invasion of Baghdad in the 13th century surpasses in atrocities the Greater Serbian genocide against the Muslim people in my country. We are besieged and every day now we are burying dozens of our brothers and sisters, our children and our old people. In the first days of the aggression that number was hundreds every day. Did you know that over 150,000 people have been murdered, over 1 million have been expelled from their homes, tens of thousands of Muslim women have been raped, hundreds of towns and villages have been razed to the ground, and thousands of invalids are waiting for aid?

(Many) Muslim countries have been giving us moral and political support, a few have been sending us humanitarian aid, while only five have given us effective and real help. The governments of some Muslim countries—fortunately there are only a few of them—are totally indifferent toward what has been happening in Bosnia. I am convinced that the Muslim people that they govern will never approve of that or forgive them. In other words, the help that we have been receiving from Muslim countries is significant but insufficient, and it is also does not correspond to our needs and your abilities. Here and there one hears in the Islamic world words to the effect that we should not have left Yugoslavia, that we should have stayed with the Serbs in Yugoslavia, and thus have been spared the war.

Gentlemen, this is not only a cursory but probably also a malicious interpretation. We did call on the political leaderships of Serbia and Croatia to form a confederal Yugoslavia in which the Muslim people would be equal to the other nations and Bosnia-Herzegovina equal to Serbia and Croatia. Those who launched the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the day it was granted international recognition launched it with the aim of enslaving us in their state creation of Greater Serbia, in which both the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosniak Muslim people as a political factor were to disappear. What is more, the Muslims would have been mere cannon fodder in the Greater Serbian war against the other, including the Muslim, nations in the Balkans. We rejected such enslavement and inferior position—which had been prepared for us many years in advance—in a referendum. We had to accept the struggle in order to defend our lives, religion, and dignity. And as soon as we started to fight for the first time against the genocidal traditions of the Balkans, we caused unprecedented fury among both our overt and covert enemies, our known and unknown enemies. In this imposed war we have shocked the world twice.

The first shock was our resistance. Both the enemy and the world expected us to be defeated quickly. However, our resistance grew from day to day, and new soldiers kept joining us. Despite the great technical superiority of the attacker, we have managed to defend 30 percent of the territory, and to clear the enemy out of almost all the larger cities. Wherever it came to a man facing a man, our soldier emerged superior and as the victor. But the enemy's heavy artillery remains our continuing problem.

The second shock concerned the political aspect of our struggle. Because of the bestiality of the crimes committed and also because of deep-rooted prejudice, the world expected us to seek retribution. This has not happened. On the contrary, we have proclaimed a democratic society based on religious and national tolerance. It has emerged that we are not extremists or fanatics of any kind, as European oriental studies and some Western media like to portray our people. We are preserving our Islamic identity, but we are open to everything that is good both in the East and the West. We like to say that our goal is a state in which no one will be persecuted because of his religion, nation, or political convictions. We are committed to this principle and we will stick to it.

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The enemy has failed in his attempt to complete his criminal work quickly. Everything that has been happening in Bosnia has been happening in the limelight, and no one will be able to say that he did not know. This factor helps the defenders and makes the attackers' work much more difficult. Bosnia is the last gate of the Islamic world on the road from east to west, and the first gate on the road from west to east. It is a beautiful country, populated by good people. When he first came to Bosnia in the 15th century and met the local Bosniaks, Sultan (Mehmed Pasic) cried out: "This is the spring of the loveliest that mankind has to offer."

You must convince the Western countries that it is in their interest to cooperate with the Islamic world, and that they have to change their policy toward Bosnia. You have to convince the Orthodox world that they will gain nothing through nationalism and force, and that it would be best for them to give up a possible long-lasting confrontation with the world of Islam. Both need to be persuaded that confrontation with the Islamic world does not pay, and that Bosnia is the test of a different policy. Do this! Use your influence! It is high time for this!

Things are moving at a very rapid pace. We need your help of every kind. We need decisive political support from all the Muslim countries, all of them, for a just peace, if possible, or a just war, if inevitable. Prove that the arms embargo against Bosnia is illegal, as it is. We need arms, food, and money. War is expensive and it has been going on for over two and a half years. Those countries that have sent troops to Bosnia should increase their numbers, while those that have not should send them. Even a symbolic number is important and useful. If the Western countries withdraw from the UN Protection Force, you should still stay with us. Warn countries that cooperate with the attacker that they will not go unpunished. Finally, commit yourselves to the reconstruction of Bosnia after the war of liberation is over. The foes have devastated it.

This was said, among other things, by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic at the 7th OIC summit.

War Crimes Commissioner Views Serb 'Genocide'

AU1512075694 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 10 Dec 94 p 15

[Interview with Bekir Gavrankapetanovic, chairman of the State Commission for the Collection of Evidence and Investigation of War Crimes Committed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Azra Kaurin; place and date not given: "I Trust Judge Goldstone"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The State Commission for the Collection of Evidence and Investigation of War Crimes Committed in Bosnia-Herzegovina has completed a large part of the work that has to be done for the International Court of War Crimes in the Hague. The evidence is being carefully collected and put together in order to piece together the mosaic of the Bosnian tragedy.

During the two-and-a-half-year war, a large body of irrefutable evidence has been collected about war crimes as well as about the unparalleled genocide committed against civilians. The Commission has also received data from the occupied territories of Bosnia- Herzegovina, data that the [Serbian] aggressor believed to be inaccessible. The Commission chairman is the highly regarded Sarajevo lawyer, Bekir Gavrankapetanovic, with whom we spoke during one of his rare appearances outside the besieged city of Sarajevo.

Our first question referred to the work of the State Commission for the Collection of Evidence of War Crimes Committed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which started work in April 1992, in other words at the beginning of the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. He was appointed chairman of the commission by the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina in October 1993. For patriotic reasons, the work is organized on a voluntary basis.

[Kaurin] What kind of information have you received so far?

[Gavrankapetanovic] Our evidence consists of witnesses' statements, photographs, and documents from the field, starting with the identity cards of aggressor soldiers who were either killed or arrested. The International Court for War Crimes in The Hague considers even audio-recordings as admissible. All the evidence is processed according to a single methodology, which respects all relevant international conventions that treat human rights violations and war crimes. A team of analysts analyzes every single document, which is thereafter stored in the computer in a coded file.

All the equipment and everything that the commission possesses is the result of great enthusiasm on the part of the people who have been cooperating with the Commission. We have achieved results that have surprised the international commission in charge of the same work, and even Judge Goldstone, the main court prosecutor, was surprised. Europe and the world did not think that we had typewriters, let alone computers. When they visited us and saw that we were working with a modern computer system with better software than theirs at the court, they wanted to have it.

[Kaurin] How many witnesses' statements have you collected so far?

[Gavrankapetanovic] We have made detailed investigations and processed several thousand witnesses' statements. By 1 December 1994, we had 19,122 people on our list of possible war criminals. We have more than 2,000 documents that are still to be processed because there is no electricity in Sarajevo. We have established that there have been 378 camps and prisons. We have

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information that mass killings have been carried out in more than 400 places and we have located more than 90 mass graves. It has been difficult to obtain precise data about the crimes, the murders and atrocities, that took place in Brcko, Prijedor, and eastern Herzegovina.

[Kaurin] There are witnesses who are still alive, though. Do you have contacts with former camp inmates who have been displaced and are now scattered around the world?

[Gavrankapetanovic] These are state witnesses. The United States presented the first assessments last year, which—among other things—included the information that some 3,000 people were killed in Brcko. This information was probably based on the available data and on statements given by witnesses who are still alive. Our assessment is, however, that the number of those killed in Brcko is between 6,000 and 7,000. I would like to mention that there is a witness from Brcko who now lives in the United States and who has already been prepared by the U.S. Government to make a statement before the International Court for War Crimes in The Hague. He will make his statement about the victims and graves in Brcko before Mr. Goldstone.

The International Red Cross [ICRC] is a major problem for us, because it will not give out information about people who have been taken out of the camps and the occupied territories. They have been displaced by the ICRC all over Europe and the world. The ICRC hides itself behind its rules of conduct and will not give us the names of those who have been displaced. We are not even allowed access to statements by these people on leaving the camps. The ICRC questioned tens, even hundreds of thousands of people and has data on them. We have found a way to access this data, though.

[Kaurin] There is the view in the public that only those who directly committed crimes and not those who gave them orders—such as Milosevic, Karadzic, Koljevic, Mladic and others—will be brought before the International Court of War Crimes. Can you comment on this as a lawyer?

[Gavrankapetanovic] I believe that everybody, from the author to the performer of the ideology of aggression and genocide will be brought before the Court. I trust Mr. Goldstone. We have had meetings with him and he has always convinced us that everybody will be held responsible for what he did, regardless of his political function. The authors of the aggression and crimes will be brought before the Court. The Court has already started work. The first trial has begun, which is important. The test trial is the trial of Dusko Tadic. I say "test trial" because it has to show how the Court functions. The Dusko Tadic case is a "dress rehearsal."

[Kaurin] How much material have you submitted to the Court in the Hague so far to enable the trial to start?

[Gavrankapetanovic] We have an order from the Prosecutor's Office to submit everything that we have. We present them with all the documents for inspection. Mr. Goldstone's research team visited Sarajevo in September. It was the first working visit, which did not attract any publicity. We worked for 10 days and the team verified evidence so as to be able to indict certain individuals.

[Kaurin] Mr. Butrus-Ghali, the UN secretary general, has been pointing out lately that there is no money for the work of the Commission for the Investigation of the War Crimes Committed in Former Yugoslavia. How do you interpret these statements, since the war is not over yet?

[Gavrankapetanovic] It is probably yet another of the United Nations' and its secretary general's traps. Mr. Cherif Bassiouni was the chairman of the UN Experts' Commission, which investigated war crimes in former Yugoslavia. This commission was formed by a resolution. Therefore it can be only canceled by a resolution. In April 1994, at a time when he was doing the most work, all Bassiouni's financial resources were stopped. The easiest thing to do when political games are being played with a court is to say that there is no money.

[Kaurin] It is not widely known in public that lawyers from Bosnia-Herzegovina have demanded that the Presidency and the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina bring Butrus-Ghali, Akashi, Owen, Stoltenberg, and Generals Rose and de Lapresle before the International Court on the grounds of their indifferent attitude toward the crimes and genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Is it legally possible for these people to be called to account?

[Gavrankapetanovic] I do not think it is possible to bring them to trial, but if we take the example of Bihac, everybody should be called to account for the fact that nothing was done.

[Kaurin] Serbia refuses to give permission for the opening of an International Court of The Hague office in Belgrade.

[Gavrankapetanovic] Serbia and Montenegro cannot be forced to hand over someone if they do not want to. The court's president must in this case inform the UN Security Council and the UN secretary general that a country is not prepared to hand over war criminals and the UN Security Council and the UN secretary general have then to decide what to do. Sanctions against Libya have been effective for years because of this problem. War criminals travel freely around the world. Fifty-one criminals have been arrested in Germany, some have been arrested in Switzerland, and one is just on trial in Austria. The circle around them is tightening; all those who have committed crimes will be punished. Their living space has been narrowed and in the end they will remain in Serbia or Montenegro, hiding in the woods and mountains, where they started their crimes.

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Prime Minister Valentic on 'Useful' ICO Summit

LD1412225394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The war in Bosnia was in the focus of the ICO [Islamic Conference Organization] summit in Casablanca again today. The Islamic countries voiced the desire to send a larger number of soldiers to take part in the mission of the UN protection forces. The Croatian delegation to the meeting in Casablanca returned to Zagreb today. In addition to political talks, our delegation also held a whole series of meetings on the ways of improving economic relations with Islamic countries. We have a report from Mirjana Rakela:

[Rakela] The Croatian delegation was invited to attend the ICO summit by the Moroccan king and government, and I can describe this trip as very successful and useful to Croatia, Prime Minister Nikica Valentic told journalists at Zagreb airport. Speaking about the meetings and talks conducted in Casablanca, Prime Minister Valentic said:

[Begin Valentic recording] We used the opportunity to have about a dozen very significant bilateral talks with the most important partners, and I think that we used this opportunity in the best possible way. In addition to political relations, we also highly value economic relations and with all these countries we additionally agreed on various aspects of economic cooperation. We expect that as early as tomorrow, when Malaysian Prime Minister Dr. Mahatir is due to arrive in Zagreb, talks will begin on specific issues and on both economic and political cooperation.

My trip was very useful and I think that on behalf of our delegation I can express satisfaction with the overall results of the visit. [end recording]

In Casablanca today Prime Minister Valentic had meetings with Turkish President Suleyman Demirel and Kazakh Vice President Yerik Asanbayev. Following his meeting with the Turkish president, Valentic emphasized that the two countries were in full agreement on the ways of resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that President Demirel supported Croatia's stands on the Republic and the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the talks with Kazakh Vice President Asanbayev, views were exchanged on bilateral political and economic cooperation.

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Building To House Albanian University Demolished

LD1412220494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2044 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Dec. 14 (TANJUG)—The local authorities in the town of Tetovo in the north-west of FYRO Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] on Wednesday demolished a building that was to house a new ethnic Albanian university.

Private television stations in FYRO Macedonia's capital city of Skopje said on Wednesday there had been no legal building permit for the facility, so it had to be demolished.

Ethnic Albanians, most of whom live in the west of the republic near the Albanian border, had announced the opening of their university on Saturday, Dec. 17, despite strong government opposition.

By demolishing the building of the future university, the FYRO Macedonian government fulfilled its threat that it would use all legal means to "suspend unconstitutional activities by the initiators of the establishment of a university in Tetovo."

The government said Tuesday the inititive to form an Albanian-language university [word indistinct] Tetovo was unconstitutional because the constitution of FYRO Macedonia granted ethnic groups the right to schooling in their mother tongue in elementary and secondary schools.

According to the latest census, there are 443,000 ethnic Albanians in FYRO Macedonia (22.9 percent of the population), but Albanian party leaders claim there are twice as many.

Professor on Demolition

AU1412203894 Paris AFP in English 1952 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Skopje, Dec 14 (AFP)—Showing scant regard for diplomatic niceties, authorities in Macedonia sent in a team of bulldozers Wednesday to tear down an Albanian-language university, just days before it was due to open.

The wreckers partially destroyed the building which was to be opened Saturday in the village of Tetovo in north-west Macedonia, correspondents at the scene said. [passage omitted]

Early Wednesday, the bulldozers rolled, accompanied by scores of Macedonian workmen.

The main backer of the university, Serbian-Albanian Professor Fadil Sulejman, said Wednesday he would fight "to the end" and promised that the university would open Saturday as planned.

Ethnic Albanians represent 20 percent of the two million-strong Macedonian population, according to official figures. Ask ethnic Albanians, and the percentage rises to 40.

Illegal Albanian Trader Killed While Escaping

LD1412220894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2109 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—Illegal trader Miljaji Memeti (33), from the village of Studenicani near Skopje, was killed today while trying to escape from the police station in Skopje, the Macedonian [Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] Ministry of Internal Affairs has announced.

Earlier today Memeti and a minor were arrested and taken to the local police station on charges of illegal trading at a Skopje market.

Memeti had 4,000 German marks and 15,000 denars on him.

The statement says that a policeman who tried to stop him from fleeing killed Memeti in self-defense after Memeti attacked him with a knife.

In the peak time news bulletin on Skopje state television this event was described as dangerous because it coincided with the tension in the country over the attempt by Albanian associations and political parties to open their ethnic university on 17 December in Tetovo despite the authorities' warnings that the initiative is unconstitutional and illegal.

Government Sets 1995 Budget at $1.181 Billion

AU1412171094 Skopje MIC in English 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] At yesterday's session, the Government of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] determined the draft budget of the state for 1995 and the strategy and aims of the stabilization program for next year. It should be founded on the anti-inflationary measures through firmer control, which will be realized with a restriction of the wages with the budget users and a rationalization of the costs for which there is no social justification.

Upon making the concept of the budget for 1995, according to the assessments of the government and the agreement reached with the mission of the International Monetary Fund, the projected inflation of 17.8 percent, the real increase in the GDP, and the reduction of the state debt through the payment of the obligations which are due for payment in 1995, were taken into account, as well as the recovery of the unsettled obligations toward the banks and the servicing of foreign currency savings deposits of the citizens, within the existing legal provisions.

Next year's budget has to provide funds of up to 2.72 percent of the GDP, which are to finance the social programs.

The budget of the Republic of Macedonia for next year should be 48.58 billion denars ($1.181 billion), which represents 26.9 percent of the GDP. The government concluded that these funds will mainly come from original[passage indistinct].

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Drnovsek Considering Foreign Minister Candidates

AU1412164994 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Preliminary rumors about possible candidates for Slovene Foreign Minister have recently emerged in the public. We have learned unofficially that Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek is to choose among three candidates, namely: Mojca Drcar-Murko, Boris Frlec [ambassador to Germany], and Ernest Petric [ambassador to United States]. Prime Minister Drnovsek has another month and a half left to propose a new candidate, so the process must be completed within three months.

SKD Wants Assurances

AU1412165094 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Slovene Christian Democrats [SKD] demand assurances from the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia that an interparty coalition agreement continues to be valid and that the post of the foreign ministers [FM] belongs to them. Only upon receipt of these assurances will the party be willing to consider a possible exchange of this department for another one.

The SKD has its candidate for foreign minister but SKD Secretary General Vida Cadonjic Spelic did not want to reveal the name at the news conference today. [passage omitted]

Drcar Murko Likely

AU1412165294 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We have already reported unofficial reports of the possible candidates for the new foreign ministers: Mojca Drcar Murko, Boris Frlec, and Dr. Ernest Petric.

We have learned from sources close to the leadership of the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia that the most serious candidate for the head of the Foreign Ministry department is DELO journalist Mojca Drcar Murko. According to our information, Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek has already held talks with her but will not yet forward a proposal for her appointment to the State Chamber speaker. The reasons are not known. [passage omitted]

Albanian Defense Minister Begins Slovenia Visit

LD1412150794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1331 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—Albanian Defense Minister Safet Zhulali arrived for an official visit to Slovenia today. Zhulali will sign an agreement on military cooperation with Slovene Defense Minister Jelko Kacin.

In July this year Slovenia and Albania began negotiations on education and training of members of certain military units. Tirana offered to train special units of Slovene frogmen in Albanian waters. Slovenia offered to train Albanian army officers for operations in mountainous areas.

Delegation Agrees on Cooperation

AU1412175994 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Albanian Defense Ministry delegation arrived for a two-day visit to Slovenia today. After official talks at Strmol Castle, the guests and the representatives of our defense ministry signed an agreement on cooperation within the Partnership for Peace Plan. Defense Minister Jelko Kacin said the following about the agreement on concrete forms of cooperation and exchange of experiences:

[Begin Kacin recording] Albania is less developed than Slovenia and, thus, wants our help in development of their armed forces. We, on the other hand, have many needs that we wish to satisfy through cooperation with Albania. We have thus agreed to exchange marine and mountain units.

Our marines have limited opportunities to train in the Slovene sea and for this reason we would like to carry out part of the training in Albania and at the same time also share experiences for the needs of the Albanian Navy.

We will come together for the first time in Albania in January, at a joint U.S.-Albanian military maneuvers devoted to search and rescue at sea. At the end of the first six months, our first group of divers will travel for training in Albania. As regards mountain units, the Albanian officers will first come for initial training here, further training will be carried out in Albania, and then we will hold maneuvers with their army within the Partnership for Peace program.

A group of logistic experts is arriving at the beginning of next year. This is a sphere in which Albania encounters the greatest problems. They are interested in the manner in which the Slovene Army supplies itself, the manner in which the entire logistic support functions, and here Slovenia can offer a lot. [end recording]

Kacin, Officials Present Arms Purchase Plans

AU1412141494 Ljubljana SLOVENSKA VOJSKA in Slovene 25 Nov 94 p 4

[Report by Tanja Pecnik: "Regular News Conference of the Defense Ministry: Development and Programs of Slovene Army Until 2003"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] The news conference held on this occasion was devoted to the basic developmental program and the first pilot project—the purchase of helicopters.

The following people spoke at the news conference about this entire project, which started after the adoption of the Law on the Basic Developmental Programs of the Modernization of the Slovene Army until 2003 (it was adopted on 10 March this year): Defense Minister Jelko Kacin; Lojze Janko, minister without portfolio; Finance Minister Mitja Gaspari; Maks Tajnikar, minister for economic activities; Bojan Suligoj, state secretary in the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Slovenia; Brigadier Iztok Podbregar, head of the Slovene Air Forces; and Lieutenant Colonel Igor Zalokar, section head at the 15th Brigade of the Armed Forces.

Minister Jelko Kacin said that this law provides the material and substantial basis for implementing basic developmental programs. There is an impression among the public that the sum involved is high—1 billion German marks. "This is not so. In fact, the law obliges us to divide financial obligations over a longer period of time. It strictly obliges us to obtain that equipment on loan and with that expense involved, these resources are in fact lower than people may think. This is why we are managing these resources very economically and our choice is guided by professional standards. The transformation of the Territorial Defense into the Slovene Army is based on the introduction of maneuvers. The Territorial Defense was divided territorially, it stayed and fought on its own region. The Slovene Army should be able to concentrate along the key directions in a very short time. One of the key differences between the Territorial Defense and the Slovene Army is the ability to hold maneuvers. Helicopters contribute with the possibility of vertical maneuvers and a speedy concentration along the key directions. This is why the purchase of helicopters has been one of the principal tasks in the modernization of the Slovene Army. There is also the UN Security Council embargo on importing weapons and military equipment into the Republic of Slovenia. This is why one should be extremely patient in implementing any kind of program, weigh all arguments, and find solutions that would enable us to obtain military hardware and train the cadres of the Slovene Army in this period as well. Exactly because of this embargo, we are confronted with difficulties, and this task would be impossible had it not been for an active support by the United States, our embassy in Washington, and the efforts of the U.S. ambassador in Ljubljana. The people who were not selected for this job complained to the UN Security Council. This is why we had to prove that the helicopters were not armed and that this is not military hardware," Minister Kacin said. The first helicopter will be given to the 15th Brigade of the Air Forces in December.

Bojan Suligoj, state secretary in the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Slovenia, spoke about the beginnings of developing the basic programs for the modernization of the Slovene Army. What is involved is a very demanding project that requires systematic work. This is why special groups for individual projects that the law envisages were established immediately after the law was passed. The projects also include outside associates (civilians). Bojan Suligoj also presented the way to implement the project (various studies and surveys that precisely define the means that meet the requests). The course of the entire task is controlled by various commissions: The commission for public competition for electing representatives-commissioners, the government's working commission for implementing basic development programs of defense forces in 1994, and commissions for issuing go-aheads for the purchase of weapons, military equipment, and special operational technology, as well as for issuing go-aheads for contracts on debts and profits when implementing basic development programs. State Secretary Suligoj said that they reported to the government on the work so far and that, after it is discussed by the government, the report will be submitted to the State Chamber as well.

At the news conference, Brig. Iztok Podbregar and Lt. Col. Igor Zalokar presented the equipment of the 15th Brigade of the Air Forces and the course of the training of its members. They also spoke about the requirements that must be met by the helicopters that we are importing and are going to include in the Slovene Army weaponry (apart from combat tasks, they must be suitable for performing tasks of protection and rescue), and presented the Bell-206 helicopter, which meets these requests.

Minister Without Portfolio Lojze Janko spoke about the way and methods of selecting helicopters, about selecting commissioners for the import of helicopters, and about the legal basis for performing such tasks. The key law for performing such tasks is the Law on Ensuring Resources for Realizing Basic Developmental Programs of the Defense Forces of the Republic of Slovenia for the 1994-2003 Period. "Three things in this law are the most important: First, decisions on debts are made by the government; second, the agreement on raising loans is reached by the finance minister; and third, signing the agreement requires the consent of a commission appointed by the government," Minister Lojze Janko said among other things. The government is therefore responsible both for debts and for the implementation of the basic developmental programs. The control over implementing agreements is executed completely by the State Chamber.

Finance Minister Mitja Gaspari spoke about the financial construction, ways of payment, and loans. He said that the only serious proposal that made performing this task possible was made by the Canadian state export association—the Export Development Corporation; proposals it made were acceptable and even improved further during the talks. The project involves $27 million; about $23 million will be financed from the loan

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that the state of Slovenia negotiated with the Canadian state association for promoting exports. Minister Gaspari also explained that with Slovenia's better rating on the international financial market, it will be possible, in the years to come, to get better loans, long-term ones, and under better conditions.

Economic Activities Minister Maks Tajnikar said that the legal basis for implementing the entire basic developmental program also demands counter purchases in the case of purchasing weaponry and equipment abroad. Counter purchases do not mean that we are paying for military equipment and weapons with Slovene goods, but that those people who obtain weapons and equipment will be opening new markets for the Slovene economy and attracting new purchasers for Slovene goods and products. "In order to achieve that purpose, an agreement between the seller and licensee should include a properly formulated seller's obligation as to when one should ask for counter purchases and in what amount that should be. On the other hand, the Economy Ministry bound itself to obtaining the kind of goods that we would easily offer in counter purchase," Minister Tajnikar said and added that the goods that we have not exported so far would be applicable in that case. Therefore, by implementing the basic developmental programs of the modernization of the Slovene Army, the Slovene economy would also gain new markets.

In reply to a journalists' question, Minister Jelko Kacin said that we are going to buy seven helicopters, five Bell-412 and two Bell-206, that none of them are luxuriously equipped, but that one of the Bell-412 helicopters has an additional weather radar system.

Council of Europe Appoints Austrian Rapporteur

AU1312171294 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 13 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe yesterday appointed Austrian Peoples' Party deputy Walter Schwimmer special rapporteur on a proposed resolution for support to Slovenia in its integration in the European Union.

This means that Council of Europe parliamentary assembly committees will continue to discuss the contents of the resolution and give our delegation an opportunity to take advantage of the Council of Europe to air its views and inform members and associate members of this international organization, in case of strained relations between Slovenia and Italy

Hunger Strike at Dob Prison; Conditions Protested

LD1412135094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1236 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—Around 80 inmates of the Dob Prison near Ljubljana are staging a hunger strike due to deteriorating conditions and the inhumane attitude toward the prisoners.

Slovene authorities revealed today that the prisoners began their hunger strike as early as Monday and that they were demanding amnesty and better conditions in Slovene prisons.

Rebel prisoners are demanding a meeting between their strike committee and the justice minister and the Assembly chairman in order to convey their bitterness over the situation in the prisons. The prisoners threatened that their strike may develop into a mutiny unless the authorities undertake measures to ease tension.

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Federal

1995 Budget Estimated at 2.1 Billion Dinars

LD1412151094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1310 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav budget in 1995 will stand at about 2.1 billion dinars (about 1.4 billion dollars) and will be 26 percent higher than in 1994.

Under a Yugoslav Government proposal, submitted to Yugoslav parliament for adoption, the budget should not exceed 9.85 percent of the total Gross Social Product [GSP].

According to earlier estimates of Yugoslav economists, this year's GSP will amount to at least 20 billion dinars (about 13 billion dollars). It is estimated that in 1995 GSP would amount to at least 21 billion dinars (about 14 billion dollars).

Under the proposal, the bulk—76 percent or about 1.6 billion dinars (about one billion dollars) would go to the Yugoslav Army.

The federal organs might spend 250 million dinars (about 160 million dollars), while the rest would be spent on veterans' and disability protection, assistance to economy and humanitarian aid.

The bulk of government revenues were expected from taxes—as much as 55 percent, customs duties and other import duties.

The Yugoslav 1995 budget was essentially on the same level as this year's, and its increase was the result of the GSP growth.

FM: Chechnya Is Russia's Internal Affair

LD1412155694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1502 GMT 14 Dec 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Ministry said Wednesday that current developments in the Chechen Republic were Russia's internal affair.

A Ministry statement said that President Boris Yeltsin's and the Russian Government's legitimate right was to take decisions and measures to protect the state system and to create conditions for normal functioning of the legal order as well as maintaining peace and security of the citizens.

The Yugoslav side expected the situation to be overcome as soon as possible, primarily through political means, with full observance of the Russian Federation's territorial integrity, which was of importance for its stability and future democratic political and social-economic development, the statement said.

Serbia

SPS Official, Kurdish Leader Meet in Belgrade

LD1412203794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2019 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 14 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] Goran Percevic drew attention Wednesday to the double standards of some international factors who are turning a blind eye to flagrant human rights violations of the Kurds in Turkey.

The official of the governing party in Serbia said this in talks held in Belgrade with the leadership of the National Front for the Liberation of the Kurdistan, headed by Mahir Velat.

Percevic supported the demands of the Kurdish people to achieve national equality, human rights and freedom by political means, the press service of the SPS main board reported.

Speaking about the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina Percevic said that a peace settelement and renewed talks should be preceded by a general ceasefire.

The members of the Kurdish delegation said that Turkey had so far rejected all psoposals of the Kurdish people to start dialogue and to ensure human, civil and national rights for the Kurds.

They also said that Turkey did not renounce its attempts to settle the Kurdish issue by force, terror and ethnic cleansing.

Montenegro

President, Russian Envoy Discuss Bosnia

LD1412222994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2213 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Dec. 14 (TANJUG)—Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic and Russian Ambassador to Yugoslavia Gennadiy Shikin agreed Wednesday the Bosnian war should be resolved only through talks.

A statement issued after the meeting said Bulatovic and Shikin, who is on a farewell visit to Montenegro, agreed that political means and talks should also be a solution to all disputes created through the secessions of former Yugoslav republics.

Bulatovic and Shikin said that the policy of peace and the peace process based on the international 'contact group' plan for Bosnia would continue to be the main direction of the Yugoslav and Russian engagements in resolving the Bosnian problem.

Bulatovic expressed belief that the Russian diplomacy would continue to give its recognizable contribution to the affirmation of peace in the former Yugoslavia.

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Shikin was on Wednesday also received by Montenegrin legislature speaker Svetozar Marovic and Montenegrin Premier Milo Djukanovic, respectively.

Kosovo

'Party of Bali Kombtare' on Trial in Pec

LD1412191594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 14 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pec, Dec. 14 (TANJUG)—The district court of the town of Pec, in Serbia's southern Kosovo and Metohija Province, Wednesday began the trial to six ethnic Albanians.

The Albanians are charged with enemy activities aimed against the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The six are charged with setting up in early 1992 an illegal organization called "Party of Bali Kombtare" which aimed to "liberate Kosovo from the Orthodox occupiers" with the use of force and to form a single Albanian state in the Balkans with help from abroad.

The charges said that the six had several times called on ethnic Albanians to organize themselves in the struggle against the Serbian and Yugoslav authorities.

A strong ethnic Albanian separatist movement has for decades been active in Kosovo and Metohija, where ethnic Albanians make up 90 percent of the population. The separatists urge the province's secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia and its annexation to neighboring Albania.

Press Views 'Quiet Ethnic Cleansing' by Serbs

AU1412213894 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 13 Dec 94 p 2

[Rrustem Rugova article: "Albanians—Political Immigrants in Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The destruction of Yugoslavia has, among other things, troubled Europe with the influx of large numbers of people from the former Yugoslav territories. Not only Albanians, but members of virtually all the peoples of the former Yugoslavia have migrated, especially Muslim and Croats from the war zones, but also Slovenes and Serbs and Montenegrins living within their home republic of Serbia and Montenegro. International law makes significant distinctions between those who abandon their countries because of war and invasion and those who emigrate because of radical upheavals, including economic changes, in certain regions. In such countries as Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, and Montenegro, upheavals to the system and changes in the real situation have taken place "quietly," with free elections, rather than by war and invasion. The status of individuals who have left these countries therefore differs from that of Muslims and others from war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albanians from occupied Kosova.

The temporary sojourn of Muslims and others from Bosnia-Herzegovina is not contested in Europe or anywhere else in the world. Why then do some European states oppose the temporary stay of Albanians? Is there a lack of information, or is this a game with many variations?

Forced Change Under Occupation Conditions

It is understandable that major social system changes such as those that have taken place in the communist world "after the fall of the Berlin Wall" cannot occur without large-scale migrations of individuals. After these changes, large masses of people migrated from East to West from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Albania, East Germany, and other countries of the Communist Bloc, but these migrations were not because of the political convictions of individuals. In these countries, the liberated peoples themselves and their new democratic regimes were the initiators of transition to a market economy and democratization as a whole. In the case of Kosova, we are dealing with a double affliction: The changeover from the earlier social system that prevailed for 50 years in the form of monism or communism, and, simultaneously, the struggle for independence and democracy.

It was understood from the start that, in the absence of a "southern front" after the occupation of Kosova, Serbia would commit itself to and carry out the quiet ethnic cleansing of Kosova. This scenario has to a significant extent been carried out via Macedonia, which opened the way for the emigration of the Albanians. On one hand, youny men were pressed into the Army, and on the other, as the Serbian rulers of the time boasted, more than 500,000 passports were issued to Albanians in Kosova during 1991 alone! Whatever the propaganda, Albanian recruits were first beaten up and then permitted to run away from the Army barracks! Private agencies for the transportation of Albanians to Europe were and still are allowed to operate according to the slogan "The Fewer Albanians, the Better!" Various forms of criminal activity, intimidation, and outrages to the honor of the family and human dignity are allowed, all with the ultimate aim of emptying Kosova and changing the ethnic structure at the population.

There Has Been No Silence in the Face of Facts

If one bears in mind the state of occupation in Kosova, the material circumstances of the population, and prospects for the future, it is clear that Albanian emigrants from Kosova cannot in any proper sense be considered migrants or asylum-seekers for economic reasons, but should temporarily enjoy the status of political immigrants. This category includes Albanian workers dismissed from their jobs: These people were not dismissed

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because of the reform of their enterprises, but for political reasons. Serbs and Montenegrins were hired in their places, Serbs were appointed to replace Albanian doctors, and the same is true in the occupied administration, in major spheres of the economy, in the banks, in academic and cultural life, and elsewhere. All those young men who fled from the war front and front service in the Serbo-Montenegrin Army, as well as others who have fled from violence and repression, also enter into the category of political immigrants. Those who have fled Kosova because of a crime of some kind, or who in their new host countries have commited acts punishable under the laws of the countries that have offered them sanctuary are another matter.

However, the "quiet ethnic cleansing" of Kosova will continue according to the Serbian scenario, if nothing changes for the better as regards a solution to the problem of Kosova and its political and administrative status in the Balkans. Then the question of the organized return of the Kosovar migrants to Kosova will also, be settled.

Kosovars Charged With Forming Paramilitary Forces

AU1312110194 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT 12 Dec 94 in English No 506

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The investigating judge of the Serbian-run Court in Prizren, Jugoslav Skenderi, has decreed a pre-trial detention and investigating proceedings against Sezair Shaipi from Prizren, Ymer Kryeziu from Rahovec, Remzi Ademaj from Zhur, Arkimend Varoli from Prizren, Bedri Abazi from Rahovec, and Abdulla Haxhiymeri from Rahovec. The Serbian-run court's magistrate charged with investigating the case said in his indictment that Sezair Shaipi has been allegedly working since 1992 with the Prizren "municipal state security" towards the setting up of 'parapolice formations of the Republic of Kosova'. He is further charged with having hired persons of Turkish community to get involved in the business. Sezair Shaipi is to stand criminal charges pursuant to Article 116, paragraph 1, Ymer Kryeziu is charged with having been involved in formation of the parapolice formations in the Malisheva region as well as 'collection of information' on the Serbian regime's activities. Remzi Ademaj is suspected of being an officer of 'the state security of the Republic of Kosova', and allegedly involved in recruiting able-bodied persons of the 20-55 age allegedly [some 2000, says the indictment] aimed at preparations for 'an armed uprising.' Arkimed Varoli is charged for having allegedly prepared lists for the liquidation of prominent Serbs in the Prizren municipality, as well as having collected information on the activities of the Yugoslav military in the Prizren barracks. Bedri Abazi is likewise charged with allegedly made lists for liquidation of prominent Serbs, as well as being involved in formation of parapolice forces. Abdullah Haxhiymeri is charged with having been involved in formation of parapolice forces in the municipality of Rahovec as well as having made lists for liquidation of prominent Serbs in the region. All the above-mentioned persons are charged with criminal offenses pursuant to Article 136, paragraph 1 of the Penal Code of the self-styled Yugoslavia (Serbia & Montenegro). Investigating proceedings have been instituted against 157 citizens of Kosova who have been arrested recently on charges of having been involved in formation of parapolice forces of Kosova. Most of them were former Kosova police personnel, dismissed when Serbia suspended Kosova's constitutional order. Defending lawyers have been reporting of grave infringement of legal proceedings in the Serbian authorities' handling of these cases. Staged Serbian trials against Albanians have been a common practice over the past 13 years or so. Over the past year, however, there is a sharp increase in the number of people being targeted by Serbia, in the latter's bid to crack down on what they call 'Kosova Albanians' parallel authorities'.

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